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Leadership in Group Work

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PREFACE

The purpose of the present volume is to direct the attention of group workers, whether volunteer or professional, toward some of the basic issues underlying their activity. It combines a theoretical and a practical approach. The material grows out of experiences with a wide variety of groups of children, young people, and adults, including groups in the Christian associations, settlements, community centers, churches, labor organizations, Pioneer Youth of America, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Woodcraft League, and other organizations.

I am indebted for numerous suggestions to my former colleagues in the group work course at the School of Applied Social Sciences, Professors Wilber I. Newstetter and Clara A. Kaiser, and to my colleagues at Cleveland College, Professors Oliver A. Ohmann and Theodore M. Newcomb of the Department of Psychology.

It is never possible to give adequate credit to the vast group of teachers, writers, colleagues, and friends whose thinking has molded one's own. However, I should like to acknowledge the influence of the following in the formation of the ideas set forth in this volume, although none of them has seen the manuscript of this book: Professors John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick of Columbia University; Professors Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Harrison Sackett Elliott, and the

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CHAPTER I

SOME SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING GROUP WORK

Group work commonly connotes an educational process carried on in leisure time under the auspices of a social agency, for the purpose of aiding individuals in a group to acquire knowledge, skills, and attitudes, or to conduct activities that are constructively recreational in character. Group work is ordinarily distinguished from formal education, whether general or vocational in character, and from the work of such groups as specifically religious, economic, political, or professional societies. The distinction is arbitrary and does not obscure the fact that such societies employ group-work techniques. Indeed, we shall profit by examining the procedures of all types of group organization and making application of principles, wherever found, to our problem. But for purposes of clarity we shall focus our attention in this volume upon groups formed primarily for the recreational use of leisure time. Under the direction of skilled leaders, group work seeks to promote through suitable and congenial activities a process of growth that will enrich the life of the individual and promote in the group coöperation and the acceptance of social responsibility. (1)

Group work is becoming more significant in modern life as leisure time increases, and as the rôle of group work in informal education is appreciated. Moreover,

it makes a valuable contribution to the establishment of wholesome emotional attitudes in community life because of the opportunities it presents for people to engage in pleasant social experiences, and also to express their individual personalities through hobbies, skills, and interests. In so far as group work stabilizes emotional life, develops individual interests, and gives people satisfying social experience, it becomes a factor in the creation of good citizenship. Its contribution to citizenship is further enhanced when it results in sharpening ethical discrimination and in establishing individual and group conduct based upon consciously-chosen social ideals.

We shall endeavor in this volume to set forth a philosophy of group work adequate to enable it to function effectively in a complex, changing society: a philosophy consistent with certain principles in psychology, education, and the social sciences. At the outset we would disclaim any dogmatic implication that our thesis is the only one capable of support by the findings of the social sciences. A philosophy of group work is essentially a part of a social philosophy, concerning which there may be dispute, but not inevitably a final verdict. As in matters of taste, intelligent people will be open to conviction about social values, but ultimately a social philosophy will depend largely upon the whole orientation of life and ideas in terms of which one sets his values.

The problems which group work confronts are too numerous to be dealt with adequately in a work such as ours. We shall, however, attempt to shed some light upon the major problems of purpose, underlying

principles, organization, internal group processes, program, leadership, social factors conditioning group work, and the use of group records. Since many of these problems are interrelated, it will not be feasible for us to deal with each topic definitely in a single chapter. Rather, we shall have to focus attention upon each problem as a matter of orderly presentation, but to consider its implications whenever these arise.

Our treatment of topics in itself indicates our belief that in group work it is not possible to separate philosophy and practice, nor to segregate the various elements, save for purposes of convenience. Ethics, for example, is not a separate problem of group-work activity. Ethical quality must pervade every activity if character values are to result. The problem of leadership cannot be divorced from considerations of purpose, organization, or program. Nor can decisions be made concerning program without determining what human outcomes the program activity should achieve. In reaching such decisions there is always implicit a set of assumptions concerning the causes of human action and the ways in which actions can be changed. In short, everything turns on whether or not one has an adequate knowledge of the learning process; for changed conduct is a process of learning new behaviors.

Since group work is concerned with human action, aiming to direct and redirect human behavior, it becomes essential that group leaders study the nature of the people with whom they are to deal. They must learn something about the origin of interests and standards and the ways in which social factors influence the emergence of interests and the acceptance of standards.

If group work agencies are to exercise moral and spiritual leadership, it must not be by the sheer weight of tradition and authority, but by the depth of their insight into the human personality, by their understanding of social life and the effect of social factors upon individual lives, and by perfected techniques for meeting people at the point of their needs and interests. Organizations committed to such purposes must recognize that new times bring new needs and challenges; and that the task of leadership is the task of conserving, interpreting, adapting, discovering, and inventing.

The highly accelerated social change which characterizes our day is largely the result of discovery and invention in the physical world. By developing in themselves the habits of mind which lead to social discovery, social adaptation, and social invention, group workers may help men find unity and satisfaction in life despite the dispersive, disintegrating, and thwarting forces of the present day.

With the hope of suggesting methods of approach to the problem of the place of group work agencies in the changing world, we shall attempt to outline the attitudes which, in our judgment, characterize the people with whom group workers deal, and to describe certain significant aspects of the social *milieu* which leave their imprint upon personality.

It is impossible to make universally accurate generalizations concerning human behavior. But, within limits, human beings subjected over long periods to like environmental situations develop relatively common modes of reaction.

We may assume that an outstanding social fact of modern times has been the rise and dominance of the cities.(2) The 1930 Census emphasizes the growth of cities and the decreased numerical importance of rural populations. It recorded almost sixty-nine millions of people in urban areas and nearly fifty-four millions in rural areas. A decade earlier the United States Census showed fifty-four millions of people in the cities and fifty-one millions in the rural areas. Thus the proportion of urban inhabitants has risen in one decade from 51.4 per cent to 56.2 per cent. The lines of urban influence have been practically completed through the almost nation-wide spread of automobiles, hard roads, talking pictures and radios, chain stores, and cheap periodicals reaching millions of readers. The city mind is therefore becoming more effective as the source of ideas, influences, and standards for the entire nation.(3)

In the past three years, due to the economic sufferings of unemployed city dwellers, the tide has turned and there are now in rural areas, according to reliable estimates, 1,850,000 more people than there were in 1930. But even assuming that the country areas were again to predominate numerically, this would not invalidate the thesis that the city has become the important center of influence, for even those who return to the farms carry with them attitudes arising from urban experiences. They will undoubtedly continue to respond to the influence of the radio, motion picture, magazine, and other organs of expression the locus of which is in the city.

Defenders and critics of the city are agreed that the

most easily recognized urban attitude is that of impersonality. The city dweller is charged with being cold and distant. Those who understand him answer that he is fundamentally friendly and sociable, but explain his apparent impersonality as rising from a desire to protect his privacy in the close contiguity of people. The very impersonality of city life, with its varied and rapidly changing relationships, gives to the individual a highly prized freedom of choice usually lacking in small-town and rural life. Freed from the surveillance of his neighbors, and on every hand in contact with people whose ways of life differ from his own, the city dweller develops tolerance. To be sure, his tolerance may not be an intellectual formulation, but rather an habitual mode of life. In any case, to some degree it results in an eclectic attitude, which in its extreme form adopts as its motto "I'll try anything once." People who live by such a formula are quite likely to look for things to try at least once. Needless to say, such people do not ordinarily develop intense loyalties to specific institutions. They develop "cafeteria" habits of selecting their activities where they think they can get the most for their investment of time and money. Even the conservative urbanite who retains certain basic loyalties to people and institutions nevertheless adopts, in most of his relationships, the principle of giving his support to the agency that serves him best. When the quality of the service decreases or when a competitor offers more to the public he changes his affiliation about as easily as he changes his collar.

If the eclecticism of the typical cosmopolite appears to result in a tolerance of standards socially disap-

proved in a small community, spiritual disintegration is not necessarily indicated. The urbanite's newer code may represent frankness with himself rather than fear of community disapproval.

Freedom, however, does not necessarily lead to wholesome outcomes. Anonymity and eclecticism may eventuate in liberty or libertinism. Sometimes the release of controls leads a person to engage in activities motivated by fundamental wishes, but disapproved by conscience, or other phases of the personality which he thought he had outgrown. The result may be disintegration of character, manifested by recklessness, moral cynicism, worry, or even definite neurotic symptoms. Fear of social disapproval which restrains a person from performing an act may produce dissatisfaction, but fear of the consequences of a clandestine act may result in neurosis.(4) But, whether the new freedom has led to wholesome frankness or to subtle disintegration of character, it is evident that a more liberal code prevails in cities than in rural areas.

Sophistication, either real or assumed, inevitably marks the man who has freedom of choice and a wide variety of experiences from which to choose. This quality becomes accentuated in a society such as ours, in which commercialization and specialization offer to the public at moderate cost performance of services on an expert basis.

The adult, or even the child, who for twenty-five or fifty cents can see a "first-run" talking picture and a strong supporting unit show in a comfortably appointed theatre, is not likely to wax enthusiastic over a showing of movies in a settlement, church, or Y. M. C. A.

Is it surprising, then, that the man who enjoys handball, swimming, and other physical advantages of the group-work agency so often shuns its lectures, entertainments, and discussions? The public has come to expect expert service from the physical department and to seek high-grade entertainment, discussion, and instruction elsewhere. We are not here assuming that the public is always right nor that commercial agencies necessarily offer service of genuine quality. We are, however, concerned that group workers should face the necessity of providing expert leadership and adequate equipment, and maintain suitable attitudes toward clients.

A generation habituated to specialization and professionalism will not be content to accept mediocrity in the leadership-performance of the representative of a social agency. Lack of respect for the paid leadership accounts, in part, for the failure of group-work agencies to appeal to the abler young people and adults of their constituencies. Executives of group-work agencies sometimes exhibit a sentimental enthusiasm for volunteers whose good intentions and civic interests cannot compensate for a lack of richness of personality, definiteness of ideas, and sureness of touch in utilizing existing group-work techniques. The ineptitude of such leaders contributes to the failure of group-work agencies.

To claim that the amateur spirit, so ruthlessly crushed by modern society, must be restored is to emphasize a basic truth; but to insist that this necessarily involves volunteer leadership misses the point. Amateur performance by the clientele must be fostered, but

the direction should be expert, both in content and in methods of leadership. If competent people can be secured as volunteer leaders or teachers, an unusually happy condition obtains. The criterion, however, is competent performance. The new leadership must know how to stimulate interests, how to develop confidence in the individual and coöperative ability in the group, and how to overcome the comfortable lethargy which so afflicts passive audiences. Encouragement must be provided for the awkward and shy as well as stimulus for the talented and proficient.

Clubs which exist primarily for sociability do not require professional programs, though the better the quality of the program the stronger will be the hold of the club on its members. Members are exceedingly tolerant of the efforts of their friends and coöperators to plan occasional programs of entertainment, especially when most of the group are drawn into planning and executing the work. Nevertheless, should the overhead authority attempt to introduce cultural elements, such as music or lectures, or entertainment features such as movies or dancing, it will be necessary to secure talent that can compete favorably with that offered by commercial agencies.

The increasing popularity of the group-discussion method as a technique for adult education makes it necessary to point out that, although groups may be content to discuss organizational affairs and to gossip informally without skilled leadership, the attempt to utilize discussion as an instrument of adult education will probably prove abortive unless leaders rich in cultural resources and skilled in discussion method are secured.

Expert leadership may exercise sufficient drawing power to bring people in large numbers to the group-work agencies, but if these people are to be held as members the agencies will probably have to provide attractive and comfortable physical facilities which approach in adequacy the facilities now available in public and semi-public buildings.

Those whom the group-work agency attempts to reach are in frequent touch with theatres, restaurants, shops, terminals, hotels, and libraries, in which every effort is made to incorporate into buildings and furnishings comfort and good taste. Even the residents of drab, poor neighborhoods are not debarred from utilizing some of these facilities, and they will come to demand of group-work agencies finer equipment than has heretofore been provided. It is possible that the attempt to provide well equipped buildings for recreational purposes will result in some reorganization of group-work practice. It is hardly likely that such buildings can be erected in many sections of a city; hence, group-work agencies using centrally located buildings will compete for the attention of the public with decentralized or community organizations.

Several factors operate in favor of the impressive central building, conveniently located near rapid transit routes. In the first place, transportation seems destined to improve, even though traffic problems now appear in some cases well nigh insoluble. The physical and social mobility which results in part from rapid transportation has accustomed urban, suburban, and even rural people to frequent downtown sections for recreation and education. Moreover, the desire to maintain phys-

ical efficiency through exercise, as a means of meeting the demands of strenuous vocational and social life, fits in with the modern practice of squeezing as many activities into one day as possible. As a result, the organization in the heart of the city, with good equipment and leadership, that can offer busy people gymnasium classes and games at noon, and in the later afternoon and early evening, need not fear the loss of adult clientele.

What is true of physical activity is also true to some degree of civic and educational activities. Meetings and classes which permit one to get away in time for "the second show" or a rubber of bridge are popular. Evidence of the practice of squeezing many activities into the day is found in the scores of types of luncheon club which present opportunities for sociability, business, inspiration, and education, while providing nourishment. This general tendency must be reckoned with; but underlying it is a force disruptive of the true values of leisure.

This discussion of the values of central buildings for group work may appear to run counter to one dominant trend in social theory. Emphasis has frequently been placed upon decentralizing activities, and brick-and-mortar has been discounted as a basis of social organization. Directors of leisure-time movements have been urged to build upon the community-organization basis. There is danger, however, that the wish of social philosophers that community spirit be restored to social life is father to the thought that "the community" means the geographical community. (5)

An impressive set of brutal facts conspire to murder the beautiful theory of the geographical community in the urban areas. Mobility, the rapidly changing structural nature of local urban areas, the shifting of residential populations, and simultaneous membership of the city man in a multiplicity of groups, are among the easily recognized factors which indicate a shift from a geographical to a functional basis of organization. The occupational group, for example, is frequently composed of people who live in different residential areas, yet a host of successful experiments with teams, clubs, concerts, and courses, indicate that the occupational group may under certain circumstances constitute a basis of organization.

Neighborhood organizations will not necessarily disappear, for neighborhoods are not inevitably doomed; but local organizations will probably be supplementary to specialized, centralized agencies. In any case they will continue to serve children, the disadvantaged, the retarded, and the isolated. The widely extended use of school buildings and libraries for classes, clubs, and lectures reflects a trend back to the neighborhood, which offsets the centripetal force of "downtown" activities. The success of the movement appears to be greatest when the following conditions are met: first, when meeting places for informal social groups not otherwise housed are provided; second, when groups are formed to deal with situations largely co-extensive with the geographical community (*e. g.*, parent-teacher associations, child study groups, or neighborhood civic leagues); third, when expert leadership is furnished in specialized fields, such as folk dancing,

pottery, home economics, or current events; fourth, when the neighborhood is composed largely of homeowners who regard the residential area as a permanent neighborhood (this condition largely obtains in a non-apartment house area); fifth, when a nationality or cultural group is concentrated in the area.

However, before school buildings, libraries, churches, and Christian Association buildings can successfully compete with theatres, restaurants, and other commercialized ventures in meeting the leisure-time needs of adults, there will have to be radical improvements in structures and policies. The school or institutional atmosphere must be replaced by the home and club atmosphere. Beauty and dignity must be combined with informality.

There should be attractive lobbies and lounges, and a few quiet spots with easy chairs, good lamps, and writing tables so that persons may smoke, read, write, or relax, undisturbed by radios or the bustle of lobby crowds. Social agencies with attractive equipment can still appeal to men and women of independent spirit, for people enjoy using quarters to which their membership gives them rights and privileges. But it is doubtful whether adults can be drawn in large numbers if the present ban on smoking is continued. Women as well as men resent the interference with this comfortable habit, and the ban has been lifted in a great many places that formerly opposed smoking. A more liberal attitude is now evidenced with respect to card playing and dancing. Individuals and agencies have developed a keen discrimination between formerly tabooed acts and the undesirable concomitants which were not inevi-

table and which by intelligent planning can be separated from the activities.

Excellent equipment and liberal policies will prove effective in attracting people to a group-work center. But unless the paid personnel cultivate the art of treating the adult clientele as equals, the agency will fail to attract and hold members. Joyless didacticism must be replaced by enthusiastic and inspiring sharing of experience.

It is well to note at this point that public and commercial agencies have already created or been adapted to a demand for activities in which men and women can participate together. Furthermore, they fit readily into a developing tendency for people to pair off for leisure-time activities and even to engage in activities solitarily. The challenge to group-work agencies would seem to be to experiment judiciously with activities in which men and women may participate with less formality and less advance planning than now characterizes our occasional mixed activities. The Allerton Houses, the Hotel Shelton and others in New York, the St. George in Brooklyn, certain commercial swimming pools, and many community centers conducted by school boards and municipalities, provide opportunities for men and women to swim together, and even to play such games as handball, squash, badminton, and volley ball together. Certainly the opportunities which hotels and restaurants afford men and women to dine and dance and talk together meet a real need.

Experimentation by group-work agencies with programs and policies of mixed activities would not preclude activities for men only, nor for women only. We

must not assume that groups exclusively for males and groups exclusively for females have no value. It is probably a fundamental fact that occasionally men want the exclusive society of men, women wish to be with women, adults welcome freedom from contact with children, and children are happiest when engaged in activities with other children.

The problem of joint work for men and women goes deeper than the single issue of whether or not group-work agencies can make mixed activities succeed. It is bound up with three other factors: the freedom of women; the problem of lonely young people in the great cities; and the increasing tendency of men and women to "pair off".

No fact in modern life is more significant than the freedom of women and their demands for satisfying activity. Whether this freedom comes to the homemanaging woman as a result of simplified and mechanized housekeeping methods, or to the employed woman as a result of economic activity, the problem of women's use of leisure time has its reflex results in the lives of men. No man can live a full and abundant life who is deprived of the companionship of happy, intelligent women. Nor can a man find fulfillment of spirit if his wife is bored and irritable, finding her outlets only in the activities of a bridge club or a gossip group. Here we confront a paradox: men and women are constantly thrown in each other's company in business life, in civic enterprises, and in leisure-time activities, but there appears to be a sex antagonism which in part is rooted in economic competition, and in part results from the frustration of meaningless domes-

tic life. A less apparent cause of sex antagonism may be the continuance of a childish sense of resentment at having been born a girl. Society has rather persistently repressed in girls that type of physical spontaneity expressing itself in shouting, running, fighting, throwing stones, climbing, and adventurous wandering to strange places. "Nice girls do not do such things." The little girl, motivated by as powerful urges to activities as the boy, resents his freedom, contrasted with her inhibition. She may acquiesce and gradually forget the source of her resentment at the male, but the strain persists in established attitudes or behavior patterns. As adulthood approaches, this sex antagonism becomes rationalized in terms of social and economic factors.

The mental hygiene movement, by stressing early co-education, and by pointing out the desirability of permitting little girls greater freedom in physical and social activities, is making a contribution to future community adjustment. The group-work movement can further this adjustive process. It can provide co-educational leisure-time activities of suitable character for young children, in order that they may develop ease in adjustment to the opposite sex. It can provide for girls and young women athletic and other activities which furnish outlets for energy and develop self-confidence. It can provide men and women opportunities for acquaintanceship through participation in interesting activities. The opportunities for increasing the range of activities in which men and women may jointly participate are likely to become more numerous as the shortened working day increases leisure.

A great opportunity, not yet fully utilized, is presented to the group-work agency to promote acquaintanceship among young people who are strangers in the community. Our cities are filled with lonely young men and women who have failed to make acceptable adjustments in social groups, and who have no means of getting acquainted with the opposite sex, save by flirtation. There is a tragic element in the growing tendency, described by the Lynds and others, toward solitary patterns of life. (6) The "lone wolf" who slips quietly into a movie house or "goes it alone in the old bus" is an end-product of the process of "pairing off" of men and women. "Lone wolves" may become harmless, but unhappy introverts; they may develop neurotic and even psychotic tendencies. In a few cases, they may become social menaces—the type of man who cruises the streets in an automobile in the hope of picking up an attractive, unwary girl.

We have suggested that activities other than physical ones should find a response from the public if directed by competent leaders. What these might prove to be is not solely dependent upon the impersonal forces of circumstances. Here group-work agencies can determine whether their policies are to be those of drift or mastery. The machine age appears to be depriving people of any sense of power as creative agents, particularly in relation to complete tasks. A psychologist might have predicted that the reaction would be in favor of active, creative enterprises in leisure time. As a matter of fact, we know that a large part of American recreation is taken sitting down. Bridge, the radio, the movies, and the watching of pro-

fessional athletics all bear witness. And yet modern men are both curious as to mechanical matters and apparently responsive to opportunities to do constructive things.

The Board of Education of the London County Council experimented with traditional schemes of adult education, only to encounter meager results. Then it was proposed to open hobby centers where men could find tools and machines, chemicals, and other materials with which to work. Instruction was to be individual and reading was to be suggested only as asked for and in relation to the hobby pursued. The scheme found ready approval by the public, and it was broadened to include activities for women. Today the broadening scope of the work exceeds the Council's ability to finance.(7) Is there in such an experience a suggestion for a new type of adult education in group-work agencies? Is it possible that clubs, not classes, in auto-mechanics, wood and metal work, chemistry, and the plastic arts, might supplement physical department activities, discussion groups, and the formal courses of the educational department?

It is our opinion that neither clubs nor classes of the types suggested heretofore in this discussion will serve to make available all the resources of the group-work agency for helping people achieve happiness and self-fulfillment. To achieve this end it will be necessary to help groups to understand and deal with the factors which cause men to feel frustrated. Furthermore, group work must be supplemented by individual guidance and counsel which aid the person to work out his own adjustments to life.

Because city people are used to professional service, it would seem inevitable that they would demand expertness in those who attempt to offer guidance. There is grave danger in offering personal counsel when help would be resented, but genuine expertness includes a safeguard against this error, for the expert ordinarily responds to a call upon his services rather than seeks to promote their widespread distribution. Those who approach their clients with sympathy, understanding, and a genuine desire to help, will usually find that the modern adult is a paradoxical person, who attempts to retain his impersonality, but who responds to friendship which he is convinced is uncalculating.

They will probably discover that people respond by presenting hitherto undreamed of opportunities for personal counselling service and other types of help. Recent studies of samplings of opinion of the senior membership of four Young Men's Christian Associations lead us to believe that at least a third of the men are confronted with problems on which they desire aid. Interest in vocation and economic adjustment far outshadow all other interests.(8) Whether this interest is due to the reputed American desire for getting on in the world, or whether it rises from the sense of insecurity, is a question.

Some six years ago we made a study of the discussion interests of one hundred and ninety-six young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two years. These people, who were enrolled in a voluntary discussion course, were asked to submit the topics which above all others they wished to discuss. Over two thousand separate written topics were examined. In

general they could be classified under five different broad interests:

1. Interest in sex, love, and marriage;
2. Interest in the choice of vocation;
3. Interest in the meaning of real education and the means of its achievement;
4. Interest in the meaning of life, i.e., philosophy of life and the place of religion;
5. Interest in the problem of the relation of the younger generation to the older, including parents.

Subsequent analyses of the interests of three groups of people over eighteen years of age, one in New York and two in Cleveland, revealed the same general areas of interest. It is significant that the leaders of the Danish folk high-school movement give practically the same five areas as comprising the chief discussion interests of young people. (9)

Emphasis needs to be placed on the fact that some of the deepest needs of people are not revealed by statements of interests, nor are they readily apparent to the observer of superficial reactions. The motivations of human beings are complexes of forces of which the individuals may be quite unconscious. Such forces may activate behavior which is exactly the opposite of that which a layman might expect. (10)

We have said, for example, that the urban adult is eclectic and sophisticated. Yet we have reason to believe that he is highly suggestible and gullible. The proper amount of "ballyhoo" and clever certification will result in his accepting anything from a cigarette

to a vaudeville headliner. Indeed, the city dweller has essentially a Main Street mind. He has escaped from the prying curiosity of intimate acquaintances, but he accepts quite readily those things on which the members of the great impersonal horde set their tacit approval. It would be easier to induce many a city sophisticate to break half of the Ten Commandments than to get him to wear a straw hat before the fifteenth of May, or after the middle of September. He craves social approval, and approval comes from the crowd. "The voice of the people is the voice of God." Even though the demands of social life may prove senseless and the pace set for securing the things needful for social approval prove so gruelling as to rob life of its joys, many a man says of his god, Vulgus, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him."

Despite their air of independence and worldly wisdom, large numbers of modern men and women are the victims of emotional thwarting. They possess a gnawing sense of personal inadequacy which leads them to adopt all sorts of defensive masks, from apparent indifference to people, to the devices of the "wise guy." Not all of the swagger of city people is due to poise. Much of it is sham—a psychological defense for weaknesses one doesn't often admit even to one's self. Even the wearing of attractive clothing may be due to a sense of social insecurity, rather than to sophisticated taste.

Synthetic silk dresses, skimpy in cut but smart in style, and up-to-the-minute, ready-made suits for men, which cause even industrial populations to appear well-dressed, secure for the wearers social approval at low

cost. Likewise, commercialized recreation adds, at moderate expense, color and romance to otherwise drab lives. By the psychological mechanisms of projection and identification the emotionally starved movie patron by proxy can live through the thrills of passion, can win financial success despite stupendous odds, and can conquer vice by virile virtues. The splendors of the "dine-and-dance palace" and the gaudy luxuries of "cathedrals of the motion picture" enhance the sense of importance of the patrons. The obsequious courtesies of the starched and braided ushers and waiters are no mere accident. They are drilled into commonplace young men and women by those who recognize the cash values of subtle flattery. Non-commercial agencies cannot in sincerity flatter nor obsequiously serve their clients, but they must learn to appeal to and develop the latent self-respect of those who seek recreation within their walls.

The sense of inadequacy which haunts the modern man results in part from the character of the economic organization in which he participates. Our civilization prides itself on providing a higher standard of living, in normal times, than has ever been known since the dawn of history. Yet the very efficiency of modern production is based on extreme subdivision of labor and repetitive tasks that depersonalize the individuals who perform them. Few men who have learned in one week how to punch out an automobile part, and who go on doing their task in the same way week in and week out can for long convince themselves that they are vocationally significant. When we consider the low wages at which the majority of our people work

we have another possible factor which leads men to seek emotional compensation. But by far the worst factor in the economic complex is the menace of unemployment. Here is a calamity from which few men can any longer protect themselves by fidelity to their employer or skill in their work. Nor can the average man ordinarily lay up a reserve adequate for the rainy day. A Hoover Commission tells us that the average American wage in 1926 was \$1,285.(11) The National Bureau of Economic Research informs us that the average annual earnings of wage earners in 1927 was \$1,205.(12) Contrasting these figures with a family budget requiring in excess of \$2,000 for a minimum standard of comfort, we can appreciate why American workmen are not able to save for emergencies.(13) We cite figures from 1926 and 1927 because these were reputedly normal years during which working people were considered prosperous. It must be borne in mind that the figures cited assume one wage earner per family. Actually, the income status of the average family is better than the individual average but reliable figures are difficult to secure. We do know that in 1929 about 4,000,000 incomes were reportable, which means in excess of \$3,500 for the head of a household or \$1,500 for an individual, and that less than 2,500,000 were taxable after permitted deductions were made. Of these taxable incomes 45 per cent were less than \$3,000 net.

In many occupations a man crosses the employment deadline at forty-five years of age. As he approaches forty-five he is in mortal terror with each wave of unemployment lest he be laid off, never to regain his job.

This picture of the economic aspect of life isn't pretty, but in so far as it is truthful it helps us to understand a comparatively new component in American character: the sense of insecurity.

The sense of economic insecurity has, during recent years, been accentuated by the belief of many people that the trend of industry is toward the replacement of men by machines. It has been asserted that continuous, straight-line production in industry, the mechanization of agriculture, technological advance in transportation, the use of automatic vending machines, and the perfection of business machines for office use, will soon result in unemployment for more than twenty-five million people under our present price system. (14)

There is evidence to indicate that machines are replacing men in existing industries more quickly than the men replaced are being absorbed into new industries. The Hoover Commission on Recent Economic Changes demonstrated that, in the period from 1920 to 1927, the number of industries and plants in the United States had increased and the total volume of goods produced had increased. Efficiency of management, men, and machines had increased, while prime unit cost had decreased. These advances in the productive processes, however, had been accompanied by a decrease in the total number of people employed in industry of five per cent during the seven-year period. (15) It is well, however, to bear in mind that service occupations have been growing in number and importance, and that this expansion has absorbed some of the labor displaced by other industries. Some clue

to this expansion is given in the statement that "in actual figures the service market has increased by 50 per cent over the whole period" (*i. e.*, 1920 to 1932), "while the goods market has increased only 12 per cent." (16)

It is not within our province to predict the social outcomes of technological and economic change. While we have referred to the situation brought about by technological improvement to point out its effect in heightening the sense of insecurity, we would, however, hazard the prediction that the American people will not permanently permit all of the benefits of technology to accrue to ownership. The final solution will undoubtedly include radically reduced hours of labor for most of the employed. This will constitute a new challenge to adult education and group work.

The pervading sense of economic insecurity has become a deep-lying factor in American life. Millions of people gamble on the stock market and are caught in the recurrent crashes, but if thrift and hard work no longer appear to guarantee the maintenance of a high standard of living, the substitute may be the attitude revealed in the slogan of the California mining town, "One lucky investment beats a lifetime of toil." Even business men, especially small retailers, are showing fear reactions to the threats of mergers and chain stores.

A dominant philosophy, espoused by business men, political leaders, preachers, educators, and group workers, has heretofore stressed individual initiative, hard work, competence in one's occupation, loyalty, and thrift, as adequate to insure success. There can be no

doubt that these qualities played a tremendous part in a simpler economy than that of the present day. Nor would we deny that they still constitute valuable elements in personal character.

We would, however, sharply challenge any philosophy that ignores the fact that our world is one of division of labor, specialization, exchange of services, and interdependence, in which personal security is to be achieved only as sweeping social adjustments are attained. (17)

Today we have passed from an era of rugged individualism, in which no man is his brother's keeper, to an era of corporateness, in which "no man liveth unto himself" and, because of world linkages and world wars, "no man dieth unto himself."

The basic social and economic problems which have their end-results in the lives of individual men, will not be solved by individual ambition and success. When in the city of Toledo one industrial plant lays off twenty-four thousand out of twenty-eight thousand men, it would take a hardy philosopher to maintain that one man was taken and the other left on any comprehensive basis of individual merit. (18) When, in the richest country in the world, not a single major industry pays an average annual wage sufficient to meet a reasonable family budget who will say that at least twenty millions of wage earners can be materially advanced as a result of individual initiative? (19)

It is doubtful whether the group-work agencies have ever fully faced the economic implications of a philosophy which holds that men should have life and have it more abundantly. It is also doubtful whether they

have ever convinced the millions of wage earners that they are really interested in fundamental issues of hours and conditions of work and wages.

Perhaps it is well that these agencies are not avowedly partisan. But in the new age, especially with the growth of a method of group inquiry and discussion, group-work agencies will have to demonstrate their willingness to give consideration to all aspects of complicated problems. Only so can they command the respect of honest students of social problems and enlist the interest of those who wish something more serious than play.

SUMMARY

Group work is a leisure-time, educational process carried on by a social agency to aid individuals in social groups under trained leadership to acquire, through recreational activities, knowledge, skills, and attitudes which enrich personal experience, and promote social coöperation and responsibility.

Group workers must understand the influence of social factors upon the personalities of clients and, through social-science methods, devise techniques and policies for meeting revealed needs. City influences predominate, even in rural areas. The characteristics of urban people will powerfully influence national culture. Many of these characteristics are antithetical and paradoxical.

The city dweller is impersonal, yet craves recognition and friendship. He prizes anonymity which gives him freedom, yet desires social approval through conformity in dress, speech, and other behaviors. He is relatively tolerant as a matter of adjustment, though not necessarily intellectually

emancipated from prejudices. He is eclectic, rather than loyal to sharply defined values and institutions. He may develop strength of individuality or may suffer subtle disintegration of personality because of his eclectic freedom. He is sophisticated and demands real or feigned expertness of those who serve him. Yet he is suggestible and gullible, subject to the appeal of slogans and emotional stereotypes. He is underpaid, uncertain of tenure of job and of his future, is vocationally specialized, and lacks the satisfactions of contact with the whole economic process and its results, yet he tries to look prosperous, self-assured, vocationally competent and at home in society. He may gamble on the future, rather than plan for it. Yet he manifests interest in securing help in vocational and economic adjustment.

He possesses physical and social mobility, is a participant in many different groups, is not tied down to a locality or an institution, but seeks out those agencies which serve him best. He uses public and commercial agencies which provide comfortable or even luxurious facilities and courteous attention. He squeezes a large number and variety of activities into one day, often overloading his schedule and depriving himself of relaxation. He enjoys many of these activities in the company of women and spends a large part of his free time in the company of one woman. But if he is a stranger, or an unadjusted person, he may be driven by loneliness to seek female companionship through flirtation, or to turn within himself. He encounters a subtle sex antagonism from women, in part based upon economic competition and in part upon imagined female sex inferiority.

A large part of his recreational activities are those of the passive spectator, full of appeal to a starved emotional nature. His education has probably failed to develop active skills, and discriminating appreciations. Experi-

ments indicate that creative hobbies appeal to many adults not interested in ordinary clubs and classes.

The city child is subject to the major urban influences and gradually develops the patterns of adult life. His schedule becomes crowded, especially during high school life. In his younger years he centers his activity chiefly in one geographical area and confines his loyalties to a relatively small number of groups. His gang, or play group, which draws from a limited area, is important as the organizing center for much leisure-time activity. This group loses hold when he goes to high school or to work and the area into which he goes and from which he draws his associates becomes wider. But even before high school age is attained the child is subject to the pulls of conflicting and competing groups such as Scouts, church clubs, and Sunday school classes, school organizations, summer camp alumni, music and dancing classes, etc.

Implications for Group Work

The Group Worker: Should be a friendly, tolerant person who enjoys social activity. He must attain the point of view of social science, understanding society, personality, and their interactions. He should seek to become expert in his techniques. He should enter sympathetically into problems of clients, and be able to help individuals and groups work out solutions to problems. He must understand educational methods of utilizing present interests to enrich individual and social life. He must not be intrusive but respect the independence and reserve of the client.

The Group-Work Agency: The group-work agency must provide attractive, comfortable quarters with adequate equipment for specialized activities. Certain centrally located buildings near transportation routes may serve

business and professional people during or just at the close of the working day. Less pretentious buildings, or agencies using schools and similar buildings, may serve people in residential areas.

Agency Policies: An informal, friendly atmosphere must obtain, in which unnecessary institutional controls are relinquished. Opportunities must be offered for the development of skills, for physical relaxation and for the satisfaction of emotional needs. Opportunities should be provided for the sexes to participate jointly, but approved sex-segregated activities should be maintained for those who desire them. Groups may be formed on the basis of residential neighborliness, or special interest. Certain sociable groups may be created by organizing into clubs individuals for whom friendship constitutes a special interest. The neighborhood basis of organizing club groups is especially effective among children. It becomes less important as people mature, special interests then becoming more powerful factors in organizing groups. Group-work agencies should recognize the growing importance of leisure, and its bearing upon culture. They should teach people to use leisure effectively, and provide opportunities for those who already have leisure-time interests.

CHAPTER I

SOME SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING GROUP WORK

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CHAPTER II

LEISURE TIME AND GROUP WORK

Since the turn of the century, the working day has been gradually shortened for most men. Competent engineers and economists tell us that it will steadily decrease in length because of increased technological efficiency. Indeed, in times of economic depression, when approximately half the productive capacity of the country is unused because of what some economists choose to call over-production, it seems plausible that one of the ways out of the morass of periodic unemployment is the year-round balancing of national needs and national production and the establishment of a short working day.

That the working day is destined to be considerably shorter than at present is apparent. The use that is to be made of increasing leisure is one of the important problems confronting society, for the culture of a nation will be largely affected by standards established and followed in leisure time.

The essence of leisure is freedom to choose. The test of personal character is likewise freedom of choice. If people tend to do and to repeat those acts that give them satisfaction and the repetition of satisfying acts tends to establish habits which become trends in personal character, then it must follow that leisure time is especially potent in establishing and developing character trends.

However, what people will choose to do in their leisure time will depend to some extent upon the type of educational process through which they have gone, and upon the general culture of the community. Their choices will also be affected by the character of the daily activities from which they have been released.

If occupational life be an unimaginative round of repetitive tasks performed chiefly because of economic necessity, two alternatives are open. The worker may attempt to find meaning in his leisure time through the mastery of intellectual interests or skills, or in effective social relationship. On the contrary, he may seek escape from the drab realities of existence by passive participation in the drama offered by stage, screen, or story; by drugs or liquor; by the excitement of gambling; by the thrills of sex; or by the excitement engendered by many rapidly changing activities.

Leisure not only in part determines character trends, but it tests the effectiveness of the educational process. If education is to fit its possessor for the worthy use of leisure time, it must conserve curiosity, widening its scope, disciplining it, and directing it into the many channels of human inquiry called science. It must nurture skill and direct it into a craft or an art. It must heighten discriminative appreciations. It should foster competence in physical activities which can be maintained as recreations in normal adult life. It should result in such mastery of the emotions that human contacts are sought and enjoyed for the enrichment of experience which they bring.

It is doubtful whether current education, as commonly carried on in the schools, fits many people for

the high enjoyment of leisure. If the interests and readinesses of pupils for activity are ignored or over-ridden in the pressure to complete required tasks, education may appear to people to be a process which thwarts their budding enthusiasms and bores them with facts or skills in which they have no interest and in which they see no meaning. The opportunity to develop interests, hobbies, and skills useful for adult life must not be sacrificed on the altar of educational preparedness for utilitarian living. If antagonism toward education develops in childhood or youth, it is rarely outgrown.

The older education made much of compulsion for disciplinary purposes. Mr. Dooley's idea that "It don't matter what a young 'un studies jist so long as he don't like it," expressed popularly the belief that children need to learn, through school activities, to develop a discipline which will keep them at tasks, whether they enjoy the activities or not. It was not recognized that forcing students to work at disagreeable tasks might engender strong emotional reactions of aversion to the subjects or activities which would more than offset any gains.

The basic factor in the orthodox educational scheme was the belief that education should prepare one for the future. Disciplinary study was incidental to that primary purpose. The needs of life were thought to be anticipated in the curriculum which stressed reading, writing, and arithmetic, with a small periphery of other "useful" subjects. A parallel to this outlook is seen in the leisure-time movements which stress prearranged programs, intended to teach the child to "Be Prepared."

There can be no quarrel with those who wish to prepare young people for adult life, but there is considerable difference of opinion as to what kind of training does actually best prepare one for life. Moreover, there is deep skepticism concerning our ability, in this kaleidoscopically changing civilization, to predict the specific knowledges and skills which must be possessed, say twenty years hence. Whole occupations disappear in a decade and new ones arise almost overnight. The rapidly shifting demands of modern industry, with new machines and new processes constantly coming into play, serve further to heighten our skepticism.

Long before the popular interest in Technocracy developed Arthur Pound pointed out that the processes of production are becoming so routinized and mechanized that the vast majority of workers can be fully trained in three days or less.(1) Paul Kellogg stated that in routine production the differentiation between skilled and unskilled labor is disappearing and classification by function is taking its place. A brief apprenticeship is sufficient to qualify the modern operative to fulfill his functions.(2) Professor Walter Pitkin reasoned that the same processes that have reduced production to a series of easily learned repetitive motions are being applied to business, banking, and organization, with the result that routine operations will, for most workers, make long training unnecessary.(3)

If it be true that the vocational life of the future for the vast majority of mankind will be characterized by short hours of routine work, and that the maximum earning capacity of the worker can be reached after a week or two of experience, it follows, argued Mr.

Pound, that the time wasted in our schools in attempting to teach children uninteresting things which they will never need to use can be spent better in helping children to acquire habits of enjoyment of music, literature, art, and drama. If the increasing efficiency of industry makes the four-hour work day inevitable, the major problem of education then becomes training in the use of leisure time.(4) What better training could be given than that which teaches a child to carry out completely an interest with many ramifications? Regardless of whether or not the school would be justified in a radical reorganization of method to meet the new requirement, the group-work agency is in a position to base its programs upon interests.

Group work may fulfill two functions: it may provide opportunities for people to utilize leisure time in ways so genuinely recreational that personal growth ensues; and it may compensate for schooling which failed to educate for the use of leisure. Under skilful guidance educational values will be achieved as concomitants of enjoyable activities. The attempt to make "education" the consciously sought end of group-work programs will probably fail, as indeed it should, for the spirit of leisure is violated when enjoyment is made subsidiary to conscious self-improvement.

The profitable use of leisure time in intellectual areas will result in the gradual mastery of complexity of thought, subtlety of reasoning, and beauty of expression; but if the interest in the activity does not eventually outweigh the desire for self-improvement, one is likely to quit the process equipped with a superficial veneer of knowledge and convinced that "much read-

ing is a weariness to the flesh." But the person whose leisure activities and reading have originated in a genuine interest and developed from one interest to other relevant fields of knowledge finds with Stevenson that

"The world is so full of a number of things
I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings."

It is sometimes assumed by those who view group work as an educational technique that its chief aim is to produce people who find their fullest enjoyment only in group relationships. We would protest against such an aim. Any process designed to teach people the art of enjoying life must develop a social outlook, but must also develop the personal resources upon which the truly cultured man draws, in solitude. Without reading and the reflection which are possible only in solitude, it is difficult to rise above the level of superficial reaction to multiple stimuli. The significant achievements in the creative arts are made by those who have been richly nourished by social influences, yet who work out their ideas independently, as expressions of their own experience.

There is a special relation of leisure time to personality development which should be discussed at this point. It has been stated by eminent psychiatrists that social approval constitutes the most important single factor in personality development. The consciousness that one is successful in some of the activities valued by other people, especially competitive activity, gives self-confidence that makes for easy social relations. When the sense of social security is missing, the indi-

vidual is likely to shun other people or to compensate with an aggressive drive that heightens social tensions. (5)

Childhood is the golden opportunity for directing leisure-time activities so that wholesome personality traits are strengthened. Indeed, the traits that begin in infancy and are consolidated in childhood will motivate and control adult action, even though these traits be so disguised that neither their possessor nor the person in contact with him recognizes their infantile origins. (6)

The desire for social approval presents an implement with which the group worker may bring about changes in personality. In childhood the most important approvals are those which come from other children. The approval of parents, teachers, and other adults counts, and for some exceptional children it may constitute the chief approval. But for most children the desire to win the approval of their fellows is so strong that it will even lead to a violation of the rules laid down by adults if "the crowd" sanctions the violation. Experienced social workers know that one of the tragedies of the fine family thrown by economic misfortune into a sordid environment lies in the fact that the children, seeking status with their neighbors, may copy the neighborhood ways of acting.

The principal approvals are those secured in leisure-time activities. As Frederick Lyman Wells puts it, "The main thing is the child's willing competition in the natural strivings of his fellows. The self-confidence toward nature that comes with skill in making a box, building a fire, paddling a canoe or hitting a mark, must

be supplemented by self-assurance in competition with fellow-beings. This comes only by doing well *things of which they can see the value*. Jack will not be better assured among them for a perfect spelling lesson, or a prize for never being late at school. His pride in these accomplishments simply builds a teacher-fixation instead of a parental one. Jack's fellows will respect him for clever base-running, for skillful diving, for an ingenious bit of handiwork. Only practice in instinctive competition builds self-assurance in it." (7)

If social approval be so powerful a force in human nature, group work, which guides the play activities of children so that the shy are encouraged and the awkward are helped toward greater skill, becomes a force for mental hygiene. Social approval has an important bearing upon the problem of juvenile delinquency. If a group of children are unable to discover constructive recreational activities, eventually a suggestion for anti-social exploits will be made. The members of the group may be carried away by the suggestion even though it appears wrong. Each child will fear to protest, lest he be ridiculed as a "sissy." After the thrill of the exploit has been experienced, it becomes progressively easier to engage in other forbidden ventures. Eventually the pattern of anti-social behavior is established and the type of delinquency may become more serious. As the child grows older he may be assimilated into a gang of hoodlums, professional crooks, or racketeers. In order to be "a big shot" among his fellows it then becomes necessary for him to perform some outstanding illegal act. Thus chance indiscretions may lead to serious criminal behavior. (8)

In Cleveland recently a boy of nineteen was sentenced to life imprisonment on a first-degree murder charge. The boy has for years resided in a crowded, slum area notorious for its high delinquency rate. There is only one group-work agency in the district, and it is badly handicapped during the depression because of inadequate plant, small staff, and desperately insufficient budget. The boy, who has for years been a member of a club at the center, recently fell in with a pool-room crowd, nearer his home. He had maintained a reputation as a quiet, studious, and promising boy, but began to chafe under the taunts of the older fellows on his block. He spent more and more time in the pool-room and achieved status as a good player. Then he began to drink.

One night, while in a speakeasy with the crowd, a leader of the group suggested a hold-up. The boy appeared unwilling to participate but when he was accused of being yellow his resistance disappeared. He was told he need not take part in the actual robbery but might act as look-out on the street. To this he agreed. The older boys entered a little confectionery shop and in the excitement, under the influence of liquor, one of the hold-up men fired, killing the proprietor. The boy who sought the social security which comes from group approval, paid for his mistake with his freedom. The community that fails to provide its citizens, young and old, with adequate opportunities for wholesome living, will pay for its folly in robberies, murders, depravity, lowered standards, and increased costs of police, courts, and prisons.

"Delinquency," as has been well said by Judge Harry

L. Eastman of the Juvenile Court of Cleveland, "is a spare-time activity." The children of the crowded areas have inadequate play space, equipment, and leadership. Their drives to activity bring them into conflict with the law in many ways. Such games as baseball, cat, and kick-the-wicket endanger property, and must be played with an ever watchful eye for the "cop." Thus, through perfectly wholesome recreation an attitude of hostility toward the police is engendered. If a group of country children decide to roast potatoes, they can without serious consequences raid a potato patch and build their fire in a wood or gulley. But if a gang of city youngsters embark on a similar enterprise, their "snitching" of potatoes from a grocery stand becomes petty larceny and their building of a bonfire violates a city ordinance. Country children and those from the better residential areas have adequate open space for their activities. Denied fields and playgrounds, city children will seek out gulleys, alleys, railroad rights-of-way, empty buildings, and other facilities in which their mere presence constitutes trespass and in which often there is the temptation to theft and immorality. The provocative studies of Thrasher, Shaw, Frazer, and other sociologists of the Chicago school have revealed the close connection between juvenile delinquency and certain types of physical environment. (9)

Juvenile delinquency is too complicated a problem to permit of a single simple solution. Home and family influence, religion, heredity, physical and psychological compensation, adult behavior patterns in community life, are all involved. Yet it is not too much to say that

the provision of adequate play facilities and the opportunities presented by group-work agencies can do much to offset trends toward delinquency and to provide for wholesome personality development. (10)

Communities must recognize the essential value of investment in enriched school curricula, in playground, park, and community center equipment, and in equipment and maintenance of settlements and other centers and movements for children and young people. It is imperative to develop a social philosophy which recognizes the preventive and constructive nature of well-planned and directed leisure-time activity. Certain taxpayers are constantly inveighing against expenditure of public money for such purposes as recreation, and under stress of the present depression, many communities are curtailing budgets for recreation. If "public health is purchasable," as the Health Department of the City of New York has maintained, public spiritual well-being is no less purchasable by the wise expenditure of community money and effort.

The preventive aspects of the problem are of deep importance to society. Yet, these considerations pale into insignificance in comparison with the potentialities for culture implicit in the wise use of leisure. It is within the power of society to develop a system under which every normal person could be helped to develop one hobby or interest which would enrich his life and make him a more vital person in his community. The possibility of most adults having time and inclination to pursue the study of a language, art, music, or a craft throughout their entire lives indicates a far more thrilling prospect for American culture than

has ever heretofore been promised by our educational system.

Leisure time is increasing. In it man escapes the unrelenting demands of his job and the drive to be merely efficient. Leisure is not a utilitarian investment of time in health, efficiency, or education. Group-work agencies may help people utilize their free time so that strong, vibrant bodies, active minds, and disciplined emotions become instrumentalities for creating things and relationships which are good, beautiful, and true. Such an ideal as a formative influence in the work of a group-work agency would progressively reinterpret, in the midst of social change, our universal meaning of religion.

Leisure for the cultivated soul, whether educated in schools or merely wise in the ways of life, is the opportunity to live for an unhurried period in the world of one's own values. Our high-pressure civilization makes it difficult to envisage a scheme of life in which some moments are too precious to be used for any other purpose but their own enjoyment. Our bewildering social structure is not entirely congenial to the acquisition of the urbane arts which equip one to spend spiritually profitable hours in one's own company. The efficiency of our scheme of division of labor has almost exterminated our creative spirit. Yet interest in classes and groups for amateur artists and sculptors, and in ensembles, orchestras, and choral societies increases! The footlights of the Little Theatres stretch across America. There are numberless groups whose members read and discuss, not to demonstrate an acquaintance with the book of the month, but to enjoy those

rare human values—the contact of minds and the meeting of spirits. These give promise of the growth of true culture in America. For culture grows where there is contact of minds, contemplation, and self-expression; and its basic requirement is leisure.

SUMMARY

Because of technological advance the working day has steadily become shorter, and will probably continue to do so. The use to which the larger measure of leisure is put will definitely affect individual character and social culture. Leisure activities are selected by choice by individuals “in readiness” for activity. The character of activities chosen will depend upon these factors in individual experience: past education, the impact of social culture, and the type of vocational activity from which one is released.

Education should prepare for profitable use of leisure time. It often fails, because of its wrongly conceived utilitarian emphasis. Social change makes difficult, if not impossible, detailed preparation for specific functions in the future.

A new type of education stresses flexibility resulting from nurture of constantly developing interests. Zest, appreciation, and habits of good workmanship are to be developed by utilizing present interests for all the learning values which are inherent in them. Many of these interests should grow into activities which become leisure-time resources for adults.

Leisure time is crucial in affecting child character, especially because children respond powerfully to social approvals from other children. Most of these approvals are gained for leisure-time activities, not usually sufficiently valued by adults.

Well directed leisure time of children should produce fine character results. Undirected leisure-time activities threaten the social well-being of the child. Crowded areas, slum districts, and districts inadequately provided with recreational facilities and good leadership constitute a challenge to society. Gang approvals and the copying of anti-social adult behaviors current in backward districts may lead to delinquency and crime. Even certain activities which involve rural and suburban children in no conflicts with the law become, in crowded city areas, stepping stones to law violation, antagonism toward constituted authority, delinquency, and eventually crime.

Communities must provide adequate recreational facilities and leadership, if delinquency is to be combated, and good character developed. Communities should provide modern education which enlists interests, and engenders a love for learning and achievement. Communities, if they were socially far-sighted, would abolish slums, and control backward areas with adequate police force. There is no social economy in saving money by curtailing or neglecting these services.

Group-work agencies have a special contribution to render to character and culture, because they specialize in leisure-time activities. They have already made some notable achievements. They will contribute even more richly if, in addition to stressing group activities and relationships, they stimulate and nourish the creative, appreciative, and reflective life of the individual.

CHAPTER II

LEISURE TIME AND GROUP WORK

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CHAPTER III

SOME EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES AFFECTING GROUP WORK

If group work is to make its full contribution to the development of culture in America, the leaders in the field will need to take cognizance of an emergent educational philosophy which utilizes facts and hypotheses of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and anthropology. The new philosophy claims no finality, but there is already in existence an impressive body of evidence that group-work processes can be successfully carried on in accordance with it. Its cardinal point is that the best educational experiences are secured by carrying out with zest and thoroughness every activity undertaken. (1)

It is assumed that there is such unity in life that any interest may be the starting point of a well rounded educational venture. (2) Moreover, because we can best use knowledge in about the context in which it was learned it is of importance that learning situations be as much like real life situations as possible. (3) The notion that anything learned may be stored in the memory and used when needed has been shown to be fallacious on two grounds: first, because there is little or no transfer of training from general learnings to specific situations; (4) second, because the rate of forgetting is so high that most of what has been learned has been forgotten within a year. (5)

A social factor enters, in that knowledge accumulates so rapidly and interpretations change so constantly that those who stop learning when they are graduated find shortly that they are out of date. For example, our cherished doctrines in biology, chemistry, and physics have been revolutionized within one school generation. In the intellectual field those who wish to keep up with modern developments will find, as the Red Queen explained to Alice, "It takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."

The important thing, then, is to develop in people, through formal and informal educational activity, such enjoyment of learning that they keep constantly growing. Professor William H. Kilpatrick has shown that every activity in a program presents a learning situation involving at least three aspects: the first aspect has to do with primary learnings, or those matters that are the direct focus of attention; the second involves associate learnings, or those matters which are psychologically or logically related to the things directly under consideration; the third aspect involves concomitant learnings, or the development of attitudes toward activities, habits, and methods of work. (6) From some points of view the concomitants are the most important of the learnings, since they more closely implicate emotions than do the primary and secondary learnings. Even after the materials acquired through primary and secondary learnings have been forgotten the concomitant emotional attitudes toward them may persist. It follows, then, that activities which are enjoyed by

the participants, although they may have little transfer of content to new situations, may still engender feelings of enjoyment of group activity, interest in certain kinds of endeavor, and a sense of personal worth which grows from achievement in activity.

The task of evaluating program elements in terms of their influence in developing personality is greatly aided by knowledge and use of certain principles. The basic psychological principles upon which the method of educational leadership is based are those which were formulated by Professor E. L. Thorndike as "The Laws of Learning." (7) These so-called laws represent the work of years of investigation by Dr. Thorndike, his associates, and many other scientists. We shall state the most important of these principles here and discuss their application later.

1. Law of Use: "When a modifiable connection between a situation and a response is exercised, other things being equal, the strength of that connection is increased."

2. Law of Frequency: "Up to a certain physiological limit, the more frequently a connection has been exercised the stronger that connection."

3. Law of Recency: "Other things being equal, the more recent the exercise the stronger the connection between situation and response."

4. Law of Disuse: "When a modifiable connection between a situation and a response is not exercised during a length of time, the strength of that connection is decreased."

5. Law of Effect: "An organism tends to repeat and learn quickly those reactions which are accom-

panied or followed by a satisfying state of affairs; an organism tends not to repeat or learn quickly those reactions which are accompanied or followed by an annoying state of affairs."

6. Law of Readiness: "When a mechanism is ready to act, to act is satisfying; not to act is annoying; when a mechanism is unready to act, to act is annoying."

These so-called "laws of learning" put the emphasis on the activity of the organism in the learning process. In contrast, many of the programs in social work, of our lecture system, and of our schemes of religious education call for little or no active participation by the people who are expected to benefit by the program.

The Thorndike view of the learning process appears to adherents of the Gestalt school of psychology inadequate to explain why learning takes place. They emphasize the importance of a perceived or anticipated goal in modifying behavior so that insight is extended and complexity of action with respect to achieving the goal is increased. (8)

Before we can formulate an adequate philosophy of group work it is necessary to understand why in certain psychological characteristics people are similar, and why they differ in interests and abilities. Only so can we formulate sound principles of program making.

It is generally agreed among psychologists (except strict Behaviorists) that individuals start out in life with physical equipments alike in basic respects, but differing one from the other in quantitative and qualitative aspects. The interesting possibility that qualitative factors may, upon the refinement of technique for

measurement, prove to be merely quantitative factors need not detain us here. All biologically normal people possess as original equipment capacities for reflex movements and for movements toward or away from objects. They all show reactions of anger, fear, and love to appropriate stimuli. But in bodily make-up they show infinite variety in height, weight, skin, hair and eye color, shape of head, length and thickness of bones, glandular activity, and other characteristics. There is abundant evidence for believing that innate intelligence likewise follows a curve of normal distribution for the population at large.(9) John B. Watson holds that a purely accidental correlation of certain physical structures with certain existing cultural implements makes it possible for certain people under favorable circumstances to display that skill which we call talent or genius. He implies, for example, that he could take an infant with short stubby fingers and construct for him a piano with an action and keyboard suited to his physical structure and unlike that of the present piano, which favors people with long, slender fingers. With proper training he could make of his subject a master of the pianoforte. The possibility that the person might be tone-deaf or innately deficient in ability to sense time, intensity, pitch, or rhythm he doesn't discuss.(10) Although we may disagree with part of Watson's theory, we shall have to agree that special capacities, such as musical ability, seem to flourish only when favorable environmental circumstances make possible their emergence. This does not mean that the struggle against economic or social obstacles in the securing of a musical education makes it impossible

for musical ability to develop. Nor are we ignoring the possible implications of the fact established by experimental psychology that when an urge to activity has been set in operation, blocking which is not sufficient to thwart the activity results in an access of energy which may be productive of greater results than if the activity had been entirely unimpeded.(11) But we are pointing out the fact that, unless factors in the environment rouse the interest in music, persons with the structural capacities for musical expression may go through life without ever suspecting that they possess talent. An examination of the careers of musical artists who struggled against difficulties to secure their training will probably reveal the fact that despite financial and physical difficulties, nevertheless certain powerful forces activated their early efforts, giving them their first ambitions and nourishing their hopes of success. Life in a rural or mountain community, in a degraded slum district of a large city, or amidst the members of a repressive religious sect who look upon music as the instrumentality of the devil, may rob a person of the opportunities without which he can neither discover his talent nor develop it.

Whatever interests emerge in an individual's life emerge because of the play of experiential factors in that person's life.(12) Sociologists and anthropologists amply support the contention that the types of interests and aversions shown by people in various parts of the world are in their general outlines consistent with and result from their social environments. The sociological method of analysis helps to illuminate the problem of how, within one general culture area,

the speech, manners, and customs of a group in one section differ from those of a remote section, as the speech of the New Yorker differs from that of the native of New Orleans. A still more refined use of social analysis will throw light on why the child of the Lower East Side of New York will display certain interests different from those of the child of Riverside Drive. But, although the sociological and anthropological methods aid the student of human nature to understand why a given group displays certain general characteristics, such analysis must be supplemented by psychological analysis of the individual's life experience if one is to approach an understanding of why within a family one individual differs in personality, of which interests are a part, from another in the same family.(13) This problem is too complicated for treatment here and the attempt to reduce explanation to a few of even the broadest principles is fraught with danger. We would refer the reader to such works as William Healy's *The Individual Delinquent*, Flügel's *Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family*, The Commonwealth Fund Publication, *Three Problem Children*, W. I. Thomas' *The Unadjusted Girl*, and Phyllis Blanchard's *The Adolescent Girl*. This type of literature helps one understand that within a family there are strains and conflicts, attachments, and emulations which powerfully affect the development of types of interest in the individual. Such psychological mechanisms as overreaction, compensation, and the sense of inferiority are seen to possess a power to mold action which is little appreciated by those who have no training in psychology. For example: one is sometimes

puzzled by the failure of a son of a prominent man of ability to achieve what his father accomplished; and this in spite of the fact that the son started with advantages of culture and training which the father lacked in his early years. The psychologist may discover upon analyzing the intimate home life that the reason for the son's failure is precisely the greatness of his father and the deference paid to the man by the community, his colleagues, and his wife. The son is early made to feel that the father is a very great man. Exhibiting the natural failures and deficiencies of childhood and youth, he is reminded that his father would not so have failed when he was a boy. The boy himself has the poignant inner experience of failure, coupled with the profound belief in his father's power. As a result, a sense of personal inferiority ensues. Here further psychological analysis is necessary, for why one boy will respond to a sense of inferiority with the extreme effort to excel which we term overcompensation, while another sinks into a state of indifference, is still obscure. Let us assume, however, that the community's disapproval of the boy is reinforced by his mother, who constantly tells him that he'll never be the man his father is. The boy's resentment may become cumulative, with the result that upon attaining adulthood we find him devoid of the ability to assert himself effectively, yet reacting against all that his father represents to him. To the slight degree that there is truth in the bromide that ministers' sons go to the devil the general factors just described cast light on the reasons for their reaction against the patterns of life of their fathers. We recognize, then, that the tracing of fac-

tors in the emergence of an individual's interests is not a simple matter. Particularly in dealing with the emotional reactions of an individual do we recognize that in certain situations attraction and aversion may both be involved. We also acknowledge the difficulty of discovering whether a liking or an aversion is a primary reaction on the merits of the situation presented, or is an overreaction to a previous situation which the present situation in some degree resembles.

A too simplified reliance on interests as guides to abilities may cause a leader to overlook a very real talent for something to which the person, through overreaction, shows indifference or hostility. We can say, however, risking the dangers of oversimplification, that individuals are born with differences in anatomical structure and that these differences may be partially responsible for the quantitative and qualitative differences in behavior which are facts of social experience. The hereditary equipment of the individual will give him initial capacities for some types of learning and set limits to his achievements in other fields of endeavor. However, the determining factor in the functioning of the capacities of the individual appears to be his immediate environment, including the emotional status of the household, which partially determines whether he will react to the elements presented by the physical and cultural environment with attraction or aversion. The sociological situation will determine what influences in the nature of approvals, disapprovals, modes of thought and action, institutions, and instruments will shape the behavior patterns. If our contention be true, it follows that the interests which an individual spontan-

ously displays by no means represent all his native capacities or his inherent limits but merely the functioning of those capacities called forth by the social environment.

Group workers cannot affect the hereditary structure of the people with whom they deal; hence we shall pass this consideration, merely pointing out a few implications for method. Because hereditary conditions differ for all individuals except identical twins, individual capacities and interests may be expected to differ, quite aside from the fact that the social environment and social experience are never the same for two individuals. It is unwise and unfair to the potentialities of individuals, therefore, to set up uniform programs of activity that make no provision for individual differences. Not only do people of the same general levels of intelligence differ as to interests and capacities but the human race ranges in intelligence from idiots and imbeciles on the low end of the scale to geniuses on the upper end, with the rest of the population distributed between these extremes. Good group work, then, demands that the facts of differentiation be taken into account when groups are formed for different kinds of activities.

The fact of innate differences in capacities also points to the necessity within groups of flexible programs which will allow members to follow out their original ideas and to work at their own pace. One of the advantages of a project method in a crafts group is that it permits individualization in the work. Within a social club a group project possesses the advantage of making possible a subdivision of work so

that every member may find something congenial to him and within his capacity.

The sociological aspect of character development, like the biological, is too much beyond the control of the social worker to permit of a detailed discussion here. But to ignore social factors under the naive assumption that the learning process is narrowly physiological in its psychological aspects, is completely to misread educational psychology. Indeed, the social factor is the potent factor limiting the effectiveness of group-work agencies, for the ideas and standards existing in a community are often stronger than any counter-influences which a special agency can set up. If, for example, a community approves of gambling, so that raffles, games of chance, and lotteries are used by social, political, and even religious organizations in their money-raising ventures, a group-work agency will have practically no power in its attempts to eliminate gambling from the activities of its constituents. If liquor is favorably regarded by the general standards of the community, the attempt of the agency to frown upon its use will be without much result.

A large part of what we learn is acquired without much conscious effort on our part by the absorption of influences, ideas, and standards of other people.(14) For this reason, the social worker who is interested in a scheme of character education which is broader than her own immediate efforts with a particular group of people, must become interested in the great social problems which confront a people. Such an interest would seem of necessity to include economic questions, such as those relating to work, wages and standards of liv-

ing, questions of size of family, heredity and conditions of health, political questions having to do with the conduct of the public business and the administration of justice, issues having to do with the relationships of racial and other groups, and far-reaching questions of international relationships, since these may develop into the issues of life and death.

The conflict between the ideals of group work and certain forces in social life is graphically portrayed in the following situation: At one of the summer schools for the professional training of men for leadership in physical activities is a splendid gymnasium, equipped with the finest apparatus that money can buy. Every day from fifty to one hundred young men drill on the gymnasium floor, developing bodies of strength, symmetry, and grace. Moreover, the ideals which permeate the movement which these men represent and which find exemplification in their games and contests are ideals of the highest type of sportsmanship. In the rear of the gymnasium is a mezzanine from which two windows command a view of the floor. Mounted in one of these windows, with its muzzle just clearing the sill, is a machine gun so placed that as it is swung back and forth and elevated and depressed it sweeps the entire floor. The drama of modern social life is here symbolically epitomized, for just as surely as there are organized forces working to develop in the youth of the nation healthy bodies, trained minds, and friendly spirits, so too are there other forces making for misunderstanding, hatred, and conflict between nations. These latter, if permitted to develop unchecked, will lead the young men upon whom the finest thought and

effort of the nation has been spent to physical and spiritual destruction upon the fields of battle. Of what avail is it for group-work agencies to stress physical fitness and sportsmanship if in the experience of every generation comes the demand to risk mutilation or destruction while fighting under barbaric codes that violate every principle of human decency? What is the value of inculcating truthfulness and friendliness with people of other racial backgrounds if our people by the millions are periodically to be swept away on successive waves of lying propaganda and stirred by tales of intrigue and atrocity to the point where any ruthlessness on their own part seems justified in order to defeat the enemy?(15) If group workers' sense of social responsibility were limited to their desire to see their efforts toward character building conserved, it would be essential that they take their place in public affairs in whatever movements promise to improve the conditions of community life and to foster goodwill and coöperation among the peoples of the world.

Even though important elements in the social situation are beyond the direct control of the group-work agency, the fact that social forces mold personality can be utilized directly in group work. In so far as a social club represents a group significant in the lives of the members, shaping their standards, and giving or withholding the approvals which human beings crave, it offers a social agency a means of affecting individual lives. We shall discuss the implications of this fact in dealing with the problems of group organization, and of the influence of group work upon character. We reiterate, at present, the importance of working with

groups which, because they bring together like-minded people, have internal coherence and vitality.

SUMMARY

An emerging theory of group work is based upon certain "laws of learning," which indicate that an individual in readiness for an activity is likely to derive satisfactions from the activity which lead him to repeat the action and to learn it readily. If it is frequently repeated with satisfaction, it tends to become a habit component in personality. Therefore, group-work programs should utilize activities in which people show interest, especially since any activity not anti-social possesses educational potentiality because it ramifies into other fields.

Present interests must not be overridden for hypothetical future values, because much of what is learned for future use is forgotten, and most of what is retained can only be used in about the types of situation in which it was learned. Life situations are the best learning situations. Learning depends upon insight and appreciation of how a given activity achieves the realization of a goal or end-in-view. It is always contingent upon the existing state of maturation or development of the learner.

Since every activity is a learning situation involving primary learning, related facts and skills, and attitudes, appreciations, and methods of work, it behooves leaders to help people acquire habits of thorough workmanship and enjoyment of activity. Then they will be equipped to keep abreast of accumulating knowledge and changing interpretations.

People's interests are not susceptible of simple analysis, nor are all people alike. Individuals differ in hereditary capacities and also in their experiences. Social environments differ. Even within a family environmental condi-

tions are never the same for any two members of a family. Sometimes real capacity is not apparent because unfortunate experiences have choked or thwarted interests. Leaders must seek to uncover real capacities, and stimulate the interests which can motivate activity using natural capacity.

Good grouping demands that leaders take account of individual differences. Social realism suggests that leaders take their place in community affairs in the effort to bring about social conditions consonant with high social ideals.

Sound organization is promoted by strengthening groups of like-minded people and helping them shape group standards which help to determine individual development.

CHAPTER III

SOME EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES AFFECTING GROUP WORK

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CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

We have been told that the best preparation for the future is to extract from each present experience all the value there is in it. This view is based on the assumption that any interest may be the point of departure for an educational excursion. Too often laymen and scientists alike overlook the fact that the various scientific disciplines are not final classifications of fact but are, rather, specialized approaches to experience.

Let us imagine that three men are strolling on a pleasant afternoon along a river bank in the little commune of Rigny, France. As they talk they happen upon a deep trench cut in the earth by laborers engaged in digging a canal. The attention of one, a keen-eyed, quick-thinking business man, is suddenly arrested.

"See here," he exclaims as he picks up a piece of stone. "This is flint. There's a lot of it here. This bit of property would prove valuable to our friend X. He uses flint in the manufacture of his automatic cigarette lighters, and he finds difficulty in securing a uniformly satisfactory supply. Now this deposit is close to his plant and he need only hire a laborer or two to keep his factory supplied." And his mind straightway begins to evolve plans for securing title to the property so as to secure a profit from its subsequent sale or rental.

But his companion, B., a geologist and amateur archeologist, says,

"The important thing about this flint is that it occurs in a bed one meter below the surface. Furthermore, this piece has been chipped by human agency. That means that men must have lived here when the stratum now a meter deep was the surface of the earth at this spot. Let's see; judging by the surrounding conditions it seems evident that this stratum is Lower Solutrean. That was in the latter half of the Ice Age. To put it conservatively, man inhabited this spot as long ago as 20,000 years. That flint is evidence of man's antiquity and a direct refutation of the claims of orthodox religionists."

But the third member of the party, C., speaks up:

"Look again at this flint. You've missed the significant element in the whole situation. Do you see the fine laurel-leaf point? See how remarkably thin this implement is, how beautifully chipped are both faces. Consider with what crude tools this point must have been shaped, yet this flint, is for the man who can see its essence, a thing of beauty. It isn't finally an economic fact; it reveals in its primitive maker, even twenty or thirty thousand years ago, stirrings of the impulse of art which is the creation of significant form."

There are two values for us in this illustration. We note that in such a situation various interpretations in terms of distinct disciplines are invoked. Although each interpretation has its special validity, no one of them can give the ultimate answer to the question "What is of prime significance in this situation?" We further discover that a simple situation may be the

starting point for an excursion into almost every conceivable corner of the universe of man's knowledge. This latter truth holds unusual value for leaders who are desirous of developing the educational possibilities of group activity.

A leader motivated by these considerations would regard the entire range of human experience as a legitimate source of program material. He would be little concerned about hard-and-fast programs which dictate specific things to be done. His concern would be to discover interests which lead to wider fields of activity. In the carrying out of activity he would desire to have his clients develop workmanlike thoroughness and experience the satisfactions of achievement.

Having grown skeptical of our ability to forecast the exact needs of the future and being in doubt as to the point at which the future becomes a present reality, we are less willing than formerly to thwart present happiness for future possible values. That there is a danger in stressing the present good to the disadvantage of possible greater goods as yet unrealized cannot be denied. Nor can it be denied that our emphasis upon present fulfillment has as one root an emotional and arbitrary reaction against the theological system which promised heavenly compensations for earthly sacrifices. The attitude is expressed by the I. W. W. in a parody of the old hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye":

"In the sweet bye and bye
You'll get pie in the sky when you die,
Watch and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky, bye and bye." (1)

The reaction against the idea that we can, by teaching a number of definite skills and knowledges, prepare young people for the future, has, as stated in the preceding chapter, certain psychological support. Even if we knew precisely what ought to be taught, we no longer have the assurance that by teaching it now to children it will be retained and ready for use in adulthood. Experimentation and testing in the field of memory has amply demonstrated that the rate of forgetting is so high that it is most uneconomical of human effort to teach things long in advance of their perceived need. Professor Thorndike says that the time to learn a thing is just before it is needed.(2) Even when material has been effectively memorized we have no guarantee that it can be automatically applied to new situations as they occur in daily life. Psychological experimentation has revealed that we utilize knowledge in about the context in which it has been learned. If the activity which is supposed to have value in preparing the participant for later living has interest for him, and if the material is learned in approximately the context in which it will later be used, the transfer value to new situations will be greater than if it is learned as an activity or system by itself, or if it is learned so that an award may be earned. The assumption that knowledge or ability gained in one field or in one connection may at will be transferred to any other field or used in other relationships is partly fallacious. Nevertheless, such an assumption has for generations supported the compulsory study of Latin, mathematics, languages, and other subjects thought to be basic studies. A typical expression of this point of

view is contained in the following extract: "The thinking power gained by unravelling an involved Latin sentence twenty years later helps you to read your abstract of land title correctly. The power you gain by a daily wrestle with quadratic equations may make it possible for you later to puncture quickly the fake project of the professional promoter." (3)

The researches of James, Starch, Gates, Thorndike, Woodworth, Ruger, and many other competent psychologists indicate that the amount of transfer from one activity to another is relatively small. Gates points out that training in one field has value chiefly for further work in that field and that transfer takes place to activity in another field only when a number of elements in the situation are identical with elements in the situations in which the learning took place. (4) Thorndike's concept of "identical elements" is widely accepted as a working hypothesis, since it helps in the explanation of observed facts. Nobody knows what "elements" are. They may be neural patterns of activity. They may be parts of psychological configurations. But whatever they represent, it is generally established that, unless the learning situations closely resemble the situations to which the material is to apply, transfer of training will be ineffective. We learn rather specifically and in detail, and we can utilize a unit of knowledge or skill in about the relationship in which it was acquired. Learning by rote is for this reason wasteful of effort.

The great disadvantage of tables, mnemonic systems for memorizing dates, names, and other facts, and the weakness of logically organized compilations of ma-

terial is that, although the facts may be retained, they cannot ordinarily be used until they have been isolated from the scheme by a process of recapitulation. A simple illustration will make this clear: Many people, if asked how many days there are in May, will not be able to answer instantly "thirty-one." They will repeat to themselves:

"Thirty days hath September,
April, June, and November.
Thirty-one have all the rest
Excepting February . . ."

Then, reflecting: "May is one of 'the rest' so that it must have thirty-one," they will answer "Thirty-one." In our illustration the system is so short that it can be quickly recapitulated; therefore, the roundabout process of recalling the needed fact is not readily recognized. It has been abundantly demonstrated that, until a wide variety of application to specific situations has been made, mathematical knowledge of the type of multiplication and division may be adequately memorized but will not be available for use when needed in new situations. (5)

Certain of the national programs for boys and girls as well as one internationally advertised scheme for developing keenness of perception in adults utilize activities like "Kim's Game" and other games of judging height, weight of objects, areas, and distances, on the theory that practice in these exercises makes for mental alertness and aids people in estimating new objects. Every test of the effect of estimating on the general ability to transfer the developed quality to new

situations has indicated that the ability to estimate areas improves with practice, but new objects can be closely estimated only if the area and general form of the new objects do not vary greatly from those with which the practice was secured. Furthermore, there appears to be no development of ability to estimate cubic contents as a result of practice in estimating square area, nor is the ability improved to judge accurately the length of lines. In fact, if the practice be in the estimating of short lines, it will be found that the ability to estimate the length of long lines has not been improved.

Not only does practice in a given activity transfer in only a small degree or not at all to other activities that differ from the practice activity in kind, or markedly in degree, but in many instances practice in one activity definitely interferes with the development of ability in other fields. This negative transfer is found, for example, in the memorizing of poetry. If one type of metrical construction be utilized as the practice material, a shift to a style radically different from the first may reveal a decreased efficiency as compared with the performance of another person of equal ability who has had no practice at all. (6)

The use of Kim's Game and other stunts involving estimating is justified if the people engaged in the activity enjoy it. Such activities should be recognized for what they are: games and stunts, with a limited educational value. Their value could be increased if an interested group were led to widen the scope of the activity until it took in all types of objects and widely varying situations. The practice would need to be continued over a long period of time and the sporting ele-

ment kept alive as motivation. Just what good the ability would be to the ordinary person is debatable. Such ability could be so generalized that it would transfer widely to new situations, but the process would involve arduous training.

Some of the advocates of a new educational philosophy have discarded all activities that seemed to them to have little transfer value. In our judgment these enthusiasts have poured out the baby with the bath. In the first place, they have swung too far, and they now underestimate transfer, as their opponents overestimated it. Moreover, too strict a utilitarianism will kill enthusiasm in group work. There are many activities that are enjoyable in and for themselves. If these are entered into with enthusiasm by the group, it is not necessary to ask what their transfer value is. Recreation, or refreshment of body and spirit, may as truly flow from activities that have no great transfer values as from those that possess great applicability to other fields. The leader should utilize the knowledge concerning transfer of training as a criterion for judging how far he may be justified in forcing an unwilling constituency for their own good to follow his programs. But if he inhibits his own action and that of the group by rejecting from the program activity after activity, regardless of enjoyableness, because the training value is slight he will also eliminate from the group situation a needed informality and lightness. Furthermore, although each unit in a long-term program which includes a wide variety of activities may have little transfer value, the totality of the activities may aid in developing generalized abilities.

We have said that the laws of learning place the emphasis upon activity in the acquisition of knowledge, and that in contrast much of the procedure in group work has been faulty. The programs have in the main ignored the primary consideration that before people act in accordance with a plan, campaign, or specific project, they must be ready to act. Too often in social organization the leader defines his objectives, which may be establishing of a mental clinic, bringing about religious conversion, urging Boy Scouts to "Be Prepared," organizing a trade union, or promoting adult education projects. He then works out the details of the plan for realizing his objectives and proceeds to "put the scheme over." To the extent that he has prepared public opinion in advance so that the group is eager for his scheme (or is in "readiness" for it), to that extent will the conditions be favorable for success. If readiness is not created or definite objection exists, the scheme starts under an undue handicap and each succeeding step in the development is likely to engender hostility. But there is an objection on psychological grounds to the putting over of a plan which is the sole product of the leader's creativity, even when the group is favorable and receptive. A considerable part of the process of education is the making of plans and the development of purposes in life. If we learn by doing, we learn purposiveness by practice in creating purposes.

Groups possess a more vital interest in projects when they have shared experience at all stages of the project. The maintenance of interest is paramount if effective learning is to take place. Although the schools may

ignore the interest factor because compulsory education laws or the social approval attached to the possession of an academic degree will insure attendance, group-work agencies cannot afford to forego the tremendous impetus given to their work by genuine interest on the part of the participants.

Is the leader, then, to forego the opportunity of bringing to the group activities which he is skilled in directing, because, perchance, the group members have had no previous experience with the activity and consequently express no spontaneous interest in it? There is nothing in the "law of readiness" to suggest that a leader must carry out only activities now found in the group. The principle does strongly suggest that before a group can be led to engage with satisfaction in a new enterprise, interest must be aroused and readiness for the venture developed. The process of "selling" an enterprise to a group, like most modern advertising, is directed towards the end of creating readiness for action where no interest or readiness had previously existed.

The principles of creating readiness are relatively simple. In the first place, it is necessary in attempting to arouse interest in a new venture to establish a connection between it and one's present experience. The practice is that which Herbart termed relating the new information to the apperceptive mass of the learner. In advertising, present interests are exploited by showing how the proposed action will save money, increase income, enhance personal popularity with social and business associates, enable one to gain access to desirable groups now inaccessible, render one attractive to the

opposite sex, secure for one a thrilling new experience, or guard against failure or personal danger. These appeals which are popularly classified by advertising copy-writers as success appeal, snob appeal, sex appeal, and fear appeal, are directed to motives substantially in line with the four wishes which Professor Thomas proposed as fundamental: the wish for security, the wish for response, the wish for recognition, and the wish for new experience. (7)

We are not suggesting that the group worker attempt to secure the adoption of his pre-arranged schemes by exploitation of the appeals of the advertising copy writer. We are pointing out that an initial apathy on the part of his constituency toward a program beneficial to them may in some cases be overcome by recognizing basic motives to which he may appeal. The differences between the group-work leader and the advertiser are differences both in method and in purpose. The advertiser, we may assume, is interested in pushing his scheme or selling his goods for the profit that accrues to himself. That public service may thereby be rendered is incidental. The group worker, following an educational procedure, has no special scheme which must be "sold." His obligation is to analyze community need as well as existent interests and to propose programs designed to meet revealed need.

The very expertness which makes the successful group worker a competent social analyst also makes it almost inevitable that his clients should, in the main, be far behind him in their ability to perceive needs and to elaborate programs to meet them. Unless he is

to waste his fine gifts, it becomes necessary for him to attempt to change unreadiness into readiness for action. To do this he must show his clients that their present status will be improved in ways which they deem desirable.

Here the difference in method between the advertiser and the educator will emerge. The advertiser's appeal is that of propaganda, in the sense that it seeks to exploit a human emotion by presenting only one set of facts. Advertising, when it presents contrary points of view at all, does so only to attack them as untenable propositions. Its position is an absolutist one; its program or product is best. The educational appeal in attempting to overcome indifference or opposition is likewise an appeal to the basic wishes of human beings. But in attempting to enlist enthusiasm by showing how the proposed action will benefit the members of the group the educational leader will welcome contrary or divergent points of view, will seek to answer erroneous arguments, to give further information, to recognize genuine difficulties, and above all, to accept valid objections. In any action which may be undertaken, the scheme will incorporate the wisdom and defensible wishes of those who may not have agreed with the first proposals. (8)

That the group leader is justified, occasionally, in interposing his ideals and programs appears more clearly when the origin of interests has been analyzed. The adoption of the so-called "educational approach" as contrasted with the "indoctrinating method" has been accompanied by an over-reaction against any type of leadership which appears to be tainted with indoc-

trinating methods. Occasionally a leader appears to suffer from an inhibition which prevents him from making his full contribution to the group experience, lest he dominate the members and rob them of much-needed practice in self-government or indoctrinate them with his own principles, which he has come to suspect are largely accidental in origin and transitory in character.

This type of leader soon reaches the stage where he ceases to make any contribution to his clients' experience, either in content or method, and, because of his passivity (which is usually interpreted as weakness or incompetence), he loses the respect of his clients. Without the respect of his group a leader can do little. Agency executives as well as group clients themselves are sometimes skeptical of "educational leadership" because so often it has been interpreted to them in terms of inaction or by colorless people who appear afraid of the group.

This failure to accept an active role in leadership may arise from many causes, among which are personal inadequacies, such as a sense of inferiority. But more often it appears to arise from a misconception of how impulses, interests, and activities arise, coupled with what we consider an undue respect for spontaneity *as* spontaneity. A thorough examination of some of the theories of motivation and interest as these theories influence group work practice should prove valuable, for here we have the crux of one of the central questions in the field of group leadership.

A type of "new psychology" teaches that every person comes into the world with a complete set of im-

pulses and capacities which, if permitted to function without warping by the social environment, will insure from him unique, creative, and soul-satisfying activity. The adherents of this school will usually be found to stem from one of the various schools of psycho-analytic doctrine or from the instinct school of psychology.(9)

However, we must not assume that the psycho-analytic or instinct teaching necessarily eventuates in a philosophy of unrestrained self-expression, nor that the inhibited type of leader just described can be found only among the adherents of these two schools of thought. For the dominant psychological teaching of adherents of the project method is neither Freudian in any of its varieties, nor instinctivist, but rather dynamic and eclectic. Freudian doctrine interprets all action in terms of antecedent experience. Dynamic psychology regards every act as the response to a stimulus. Uncaused action is inconceivable.(10) Among the adherents of the project method can be found a surprisingly strong group who object to any type of leadership which smacks of indoctrination. Although they may distrust the notion that native capacities will function without any instruction or suggestion, they nevertheless sometimes assume that once an interest has been aroused, its operation will insure educational growth. Their doctrine is that one interest is about as good as another as a starting point for educational development. That there is considerable justification for this latter assumption has been acknowledged.(11) What is overlooked in this theory is that certain interests that arise in groups may be satisfied without engaging in any activity that leads into a new field; hence,

although there may be a heightening of skill by reason of repeated practice, no widening of interests or skills takes place. For example, a boys' club if left to its own devices may continue for months to play basketball, without beginning to realize the possibilities for development inherent in even this comparatively narrow interest. When a leader sensitive to opportunity steps in, a single activity begins to widen into a network of activities of an ascending order.

Sometimes a sharply accentuated respect for personality is partly responsible for the leader's unwillingness to impose his ideas on the group. He believes that the interests that rise spontaneously in the group are as valid as his own interests. Therefore, for him to attempt to secure his way in the group seems to him an unwarranted assumption of superiority and a violation of personality. It would seem evident that the whole logic of the situation would lead the so-called leader to resign from the group and leave the members to their own devices. But at this point the claim is usually made that the new democratic type of leader operates within the group as an individual on the same footing as the other members, sharing experience with them and making suggestions as they do. This may be, in fact, the most desirable and productive role to play in an adult group, particularly the group with a high degree of sophistication, intelligence, or competence. But in a boys' or girls' club or a group of disadvantaged adults the inhibition restraining the leader from exercising authority or making very definite suggestions regarding program and policy may arise from a failure to recognize how interests arise

and in consequence the attributing of a greater value to spontaneous interests than they deserve.

In the preceding chapter we stated that interests might rise out of native capacities and are certainly limited by inherited physiological equipment. But the functioning of capacities is dependent upon stimulation and nurture by the social environment.

There is much food for thought in the facts surrounding the life of a young violinist who is being acclaimed among the world's greatest masters of the violin. His father and mother were lovers of music and from the moment of their marriage their home was a place of perpetual song. Both were concert-goers. When the boy was born the problem of concert attendance was complicated by the financial problem; for the choice seemed to be between engaging a nurse to look after the infant or staying home with the child. There was no money for nurses, and the prospect of missing concerts was too disheartening to contemplate. The parents decided to risk carrying the baby to the concerts and, since no untoward incidents occurred, they continued this practice until the child could walk. At about the age of three and a half they noticed the boy's interest in the musicians, and it was decided to give him training on the violin. A small instrument was secured and a teacher engaged. For a period the child showed no unusual ability. Then the teacher gave up his instruction and a new teacher was engaged. He sensed the boy's real gift and training started in earnest. Finally at the ripe age of about five and a half the boy had an audition by the conductor of a great symphony orchestra on the Pacific Coast. The

conductor was so stirred that he secured one of the finest coaches in the country to train the boy. After years of study with this man, opportunities were presented for European study under the Old World masters. In all this musical experience of about fourteen years, the boy has never suffered the distractions of ordinary school life, but has devoted the equivalent of a full school or work day to violin practice. Whether or not the boy possesses a genius which would have flowered under less favorable circumstances is a matter of unprofitable conjecture, as is the corollary discussion as to whether other boys possess similar talent which remains undiscovered in our prosaic training scheme. But it is not too much to claim that whatever innate genius the boy possesses was stimulated by a rich musical environment and that his unusual performance reflects unusual training.

Once this principle that interests involve both innate capacity and social stimulation is fully grasped we shall cease in social work of an educational nature to believe that impulsive interest must be slavishly followed. We shall adopt a more realistic sociological and psychological outlook and recognize that, since we can expect to find impoverished experience and cheap tastes in people of meagre and tawdry environments, the task of an educational process which seeks to further personal growth will be to enrich the environment, through the elimination of harmful elements, the suppression of others which cannot at once be eliminated, the stimulation of promising present interests, and the addition of those which will probably be accepted although hitherto unknown to the clients.

As an illustration, let us consider the problem of group work presented by the children of the slums of Defiance, Ohio. As reported by Professor Gilbert, these children live in houses made of tin sheets or bits of planking and packing boxes erected on or near the rubbish dumps of the town. There is no sanitation, no suitable lighting, no adequate ventilation. The parents are generally of low mentality, with no ambition for occupational or social advancement. Most of the adults are rated as feeble-minded. There is no social coöperation except on occasions when an automobile assembled from parts secured on the junk heaps fails to operate. Then the adults show a desire to work together, possibly not so much from social interests of mutual helpfulness as from the individual interest of each person in assembled cars. We are told that the children, likewise, never coöperate in games nor even in predatory expeditions. (12)

If a group worker were to undertake work in this community he would in our opinion make a serious error in judgment and in technique if he were to accept the present interests of the group as possessing such final value that the program should be based solely on them, without addition, suggestion, or direction from the leader. We acknowledge the fundamentally sound basis for starting with present interests and developing a program with such interests as a base, but to limit activity strictly to what is within the present experience of the group is to deny the very essence of the educative process, which is a growth process. Furthermore, it is to deny the essence of leadership, in that it sets a greater value upon the chance combination of biologi-

cal and social factors than it does on the product of the invested intellectual capital of civilization as represented in the trained leader's education and experience.

The fear of indoctrination is closely related to a basic inhibition restraining the individual from evaluating elements in experience. "Who is to judge?" is the favorite query of certain intellectuals when questions are raised concerning the relative merits of one way of life as compared with another. For the anthropologist or the ethnologist such restraint in evaluation is essential. Only through its exercise can he understand the ways of living of other groups than his own. Likewise such restraint is admirable in the educator or group leader when it leads him to preserve a detachment which enables him to learn the habits, customs, and standards of the group with which he is to work, before he launches upon a program which may in the nature of things be impossible of fulfilment, regardless of its theoretical excellence. If such detachment results in an attitude of tolerance so that the leader can contemplate any type of standard without shock to his sensibilities, he is in a particularly strong position to lead his group to new and wider experiences. Certainly the thin-skinned and morally hyper-sensitive leader who shows disapproval with what he considers inferior modes of life antagonizes his group and sets barriers in the way of his future usefulness. Suspended judgment is recommended.

But the assumption that there can never be choices of inferiority and superiority among different ways of action is naive. An extreme of the non-evaluative philosophy as it applies to education is revealed in

the theory that in the acquisition of musical skill a child should learn for himself. In learning to play the violin, according to this theory, the child should work out his own methods of holding the instrument and of bowing. He should discover by a trial and error process how the tones are formed and where the notes are to be found. If the human race had had no experience in the art of coaching skilled violinists, this theory might be maintained; but it is a matter of experience that the violin must be held in a certain way if the fingers are to press the strings with the firmness needed to produce clear tones. The wrist must be kept well away from the neck of the instrument if flexibility is to be gained. It so happens that the correct violin position is not necessarily the natural position. It may be far more comfortable for the beginner to permit the neck of the instrument to rest upon his wrist. If this bad postural habit develops, the player may be able to play simple music requiring no shifts from the first position; but when the necessity for great flexibility occurs, as it must, the player will find that in the beginning he sacrificed mastery to ease. We need not confine ourselves to the field of music. In the modern world, which is one of instrumentation, the skilled artisans as well as the artists are made, not born; and the process of making the skilled performer involves correct instruction in the very beginning of his training. Even in the use of language, facility is acquired, not purely by spontaneous self-expression but by repeating the best forms with which a rich linguistic environment surrounds one. "To the manor (manner) born" expresses far less the conviction that in manners heredity

is the significant factor than the fact that they possess the greatest social facility in the area of fine manners who have always been surrounded by correct usage. Even in the realm of athletics, with which the group worker is so likely to be concerned, it is false to assume that individual choice of method leads to excellence in performance. Every coach knows that the swimmer must be drilled in ways which are neither natural nor at first comfortable if he is to attain form, without which there can be no speed. Likewise with the tennis player, the diver, the runner, and practically every other type of athlete. The early acquisition of a comfortable but wrong method of holding a tennis racquet or a golf club will almost inevitably result in the development of such a style of play that after a certain elementary stage of skill has been reached the player can no longer improve his game. As a result he suffers constant defeat at the hands of his former peers who were willing to accept coaching and to pay the price of self-discipline in uninteresting practice and who now have no bad habits to set limits upon their performance. It is not uncommon to discover among those whose early training in athletics was "natural" and bad, the development of a distaste for any sport of a competitive nature. If one is constantly being defeated, his ego suffers in the process and defends itself by leading him to believe that he really doesn't care for competitive sport. Here, then, the leader would find an aversion which would not necessarily represent an inherent incapacity, but bad training. With skilful leadership he could re-educate the person so that the gradual access of athletic skill would bring increased enjoyment, in-

creased desire for competition, and, as a by-product, an increased sense of his own personal worth.

To return to our point regarding evaluation of experience: we see that in teaching manual skills, whether on the levels of artisanship or artistry, the instructor must make choices if the pupil is to be freed for his best performances. In the development of those phases of personality which result from speech, manners, and general bearing, the conscientious adult will seek to eliminate from the environment of the young child undesirable or less desirable models for imitation. In any event, choices will be presented to the child outside the group-work agency; and, failing of special training, he will respond to what will give him the approval of his fellows.

Failing in protective effort, the leader should seek to supplant an undesirable action by a more desirable one, possibly by reproof or by rewarding the individual for the desired action. In extreme cases definite suppression may be used. Society is forced in its own interests to a choice of standards. A most convincing demonstration of the efficacy of a combination of education, elimination, and suppression is afforded by the Westchester County Park Commission (N. Y.) in its remarkable development of parks, automobile highways, swimming pools, beaches, and golf courses. Before the formation of the commission, one of the beaches had the reputation of being undesirable because it was the rendezvous of boisterous young people. Luncheon parties were held on the beach, food particles, bottles, cans, and papers offended the sight and threatened the safety of bathers. Ball games and races inter-

ferred with the comfort of those who sought the sands for relaxation. It is quite probable that the few thousands who frequented the beach did not seriously object to the actions of the hundreds who were boisterous. That there were considerable groups who did object is certain, but since conditions were not unbearably bad and since there were few beaches within striking distance, the beach continued to be used by some people of refinement. However, we are convinced that if a vote could have been taken of the actual frequenters of the beach, a majority could have been secured for unrestricted freedom.

After the Park Commission had been operating with marked success in certain other ventures, it addressed itself to the task of developing the beach in question. It cancelled concessions of commercial interests, demolished all the buildings, planned a comprehensive scheme including a "Playland" of commercial amusements, a beautiful and safe beach, one of the most magnificent outdoor pools in the country, garden spots, restaurants, and beach cafeterias. It forbade the eating of lunches on the beach, suppressed rowdiness of all kinds, required that those who promenaded on the boardwalk be adequately covered; and enforced these regulations by installing a police force of young men who appear to exhibit a rare combination of courtesy and firmness. These men suppress the first evidence of violation of the regulations and, although they are not on the alert to harass people who inadvertently transgress, they are uncompromising in their dealings with the very occasional young ruffians who attempt to flout the spirit of the resort.

The daily attendance at the beach is now many times what it was in the former days, and the new standards are being accepted and appreciated by the patrons. It seems safe to say that the entire recreational scheme of the Westchester County Park Commission has gained such wide-spread approval within five years that the sentiment of the clientele now quite thoroughly supports the policy described. The Commission found conditions inimical to health, offensive to the æsthetic sense, promotive of relatively unrestrained commercial exploitation, and productive of mediocre standards of action. It engaged a diversified corps of experts, surveyed the field, drafted a comprehensive plan of development, eliminated unsightly and dangerous physical conditions, and created a physical environment of such beauty and utility that its achievements constitute a glowing chapter in the history of public works. To preserve and enhance the social values of this physical achievement it called into operation forces of education, elimination, and suppression. This program appears to us to constitute a social policy that cannot fail to raise the standards of community activity and to provide for the individual patrons a maximum of enjoyment. (13)

There are obvious dangers in the policy here advocated. Authoritarianism and even dictatorship have their logical roots in such soil. If one in authority is convinced that a given measure is for the good of those over whom he exercises control, it is not difficult to understand how he may come to enforce his judgments against the will of the people. The theories of control of such self-appointed guardians of public morals as

societies for the suppression of vice and watch-and-ward societies grow out of the notion that the standards of these societies are superior to those found in the community and that the community must be forced for its own good to accept the imposed standards. In the larger political field we find Bolshevist and Fascist dictatorships employing ruthless yet practical methods of controlling the environment in order that a new generation of people may grow up with habits, customs, appreciations, and aversions formed according to the patterns of the controlled social situation. John Dewey has aptly remarked that before a revolution can show its results "a new generation must come upon the scene whose habits of mind have been formed under the new conditions. There is pith in the saying that important reforms cannot take real effect until after a number of influential persons have died." (14)

We hold no brief for dictatorship. Our theory leans toward individualistic freedom; but we must not ignore the legal and moral custodianships which exist everywhere in our social structure. Nor can we suggest a clear-cut formula by which a group leader may solve the dilemma of freedom and authoritarianism. We know of no formulas anywhere in the field of social leadership that will automatically solve the multitudinous problems that arise. The usual trite remark at this point would be to the effect that common sense must decide the issues. Unfortunately perhaps, we have as little respect for common sense as we have for formulas. Common-sense decisions are often characterized by a cynical compromise between altruism and self-interest in which self-interest emerges tri-

umphant. We would urge that, in the absence of the authority of formulas or common sense, each situation must be evaluated and a plan of action followed which promises to result in outcomes which the leader can justify on the basis of their educational values. Wide experience should be consulted, much study prosecuted, conflicting facts and theories evaluated, and a tentative philosophy of action elaborated which is subject to constant revision. As more specific guiding principles, we may suggest that on the lowest level the group leader is responsible for the physical safety of his clients. Dr. Dewey has well said that there is no education in being burned to death. If the group leader is in charge of children at a summer camp or even on a day's outing, he misconceives his function if he leaves certain physical hazards open to the children. As the custodian of the children with the confidence of the parents resting in him, he would have no right to permit the campers unrestricted swimming or boating nor uncontrolled crossing of railroad tracks, nor the free use of firearms nor of dangerous chemicals, nor unsupervised exploration of territory known to be dangerous because of the presence of rattlesnakes or copperheads, open mine shafts, or steep cliffs.

On the next level, the leader is responsible for the property entrusted to his care. In many a community center and settlement house property belonging to a board of directors or to the community in its corporate aspect has been destroyed by small groups who had no property stake in the venture, because the leader did not feel an obligation to protect the property. There may be occasions when the equipment is of so little impor-

tance in comparison with certain character values that may be developed by an experiment in group control that good social education demands the sacrifice of property for personality. But before a leader justifies what may be a policy of mere inaction on his part, by the claim that he is experimenting for the good of his group, he had better have in advance a fairly accurate forecast of what may happen and how he can retrieve partial failures. In one instance a leader who could have prevented the destruction of electric light bulbs offered no interference because he was experimenting with self-government and felt that the group should bear the consequences of their destructiveness rather than be spared the necessity of facing a situation. When the center refused to install new bulbs in the club room and also refused to permit the club to hold meetings in any other room, the members, who really valued their club organization, took the purchase price of new bulbs from the treasury and re-equipped the room. Needless to say, there was no further playful breaking of light bulbs. Quite different in philosophy was the conduct of a leader who permitted a club of older boys to chalk their billiard cues by sticking them into the walls and ceilings, even though cue chalk was available. This group, which had been recruited from a poolroom near by, was at first hostile to the center and felt no hesitancy at destroying property. Group leaders must face the unpleasant fact that in many communities where social work is most needed there exists an attitude compounded of hostility, contempt, curiosity, and a desire to squeeze every last advantage from the agency, while giving nothing in return. Such situa-

tions are not hopeless. They constitute a reason for existence for the group-work agency. The leader who would work with a hostile group should avoid the extremes of permanent dictatorial control and of passive acquiescence in all of the group's activities. He must stand ready to enforce reasonable rules. He will probably gain the respect of his group if he demonstrates fairness mixed with firmness.

It should be emphasized that if an aim of group work is the presentation of opportunities to prepare for social living by present participation in social life, the experiences of the group should be generally consistent with those that are met in the wider community. Carelessness or destructiveness in the use of property is ordinarily not tolerated in well-organized community life. To permit groups to develop habits of disrespect for property is to unfit them for adequate social functioning rather than for the free functioning of enlightened personality. One of the difficulties with the theory of "no-repression" for individuals or groups is that it usually overlooks the rights and emotional states of those individuals or groups not in the experiment. They are expected to repress any normal desires for retaliation and they must foot bills for damage incurred not by themselves but by the "free and unrestrained" human guinea pigs.

Control is called for on still a higher level: that of the protection of personality. A function of group work is the development of the personality of the individual. It is sometimes assumed that personality will develop wholesomely in an uncontrolled environment in which the very freedom of the situation guaran-

tees the emergence of creativeness and colorful character. Theoretically, the assumption sounds intriguing, but many factors are overlooked by the group leader who proceeds on a basis expressed in the following terms: "I make it a rule never to help a boy make his way in a club. When a new boy joins this association I throw him into a club and let him sink or swim in the social pool. If he swims, he shows he had the stuff in him. If he sinks, he is no good as social material and, since we could not do anything for him, the sooner he drops out of our work the better for all concerned."

This worker misconceives his task to be the development of leadership. It is as reasonable to set up as an aim the development of people who desire chiefly to follow their own interests in so far as these do not conflict with social welfare. The leader just cited errs further in assuming that the initial failure of an individual to make a happy impression upon a group indicates an insurmountable incapacity for social life. Who is there among us who has not in some group miserably failed to fit in? Yet on a subsequent occasion with the same group we may have made a reasonable or even a marked social success. Sometimes one has the personal conviction of failure, although nobody else in the group senses it. The sociologist recognizes the necessity for that orientation in a group's ways which is called "learning the ropes." Becoming acquainted with the peculiarities of the group takes time, and the experienced leader will not expect the newcomer to be at ease unless he is helped. Often the most effective aid in adjustment is an activity, even though of minor impor-

tance. For example, a guest at a tea who appears ill at ease because she has no lines of conversation with the other guests, may be made to feel at home by being asked to assist in serving. One may be a successful member of some groups and quite unable to find a place at once in others.

But, assuming that the person in question has shown no ability to make a place for himself in any group, the task of helping him to become at ease in groups is precisely a reason for the existence of the group leader. We cannot overlook the fact that some groups, especially among children, are cruel to the outsider. Certain primitive groups exhibit a widespread characteristic of hostility to the alien and scorn for the inept. Sophisticated society rises above provincialism, recognizing that enrichment of experience may come through alien contributions. It protects the inept, hoping that, although in a few readily recognized abilities the person may be deficient, he may yet make his contribution in a less popular but socially valuable field. In children's groups the sensitive individual with rare gifts for music, literature, or art may be completely submerged by indifference or ridicule, unless the leader finds ways to protect the child's personality and to afford opportunities to win the group approval through the doing of something which the group values. Under the stings of criticism or the chilling influence of indifference the personality shrivels and doubts as to one's own worth arise which, if nourished, effectively block the emergence of abilities. In the field of personality nothing succeeds like success. The child who scores a triumph in even a petty realm of child life experiences a

surge of confidence which becomes ambition to try new exploits.

The child who receives a moderate amount of approval from his group for exploits in fields which they value does not necessarily grow into adulthood continuing the same interests. As he and his colleagues mature their interests gradually become those of the adult world. Indeed, many childhood interests originate in the adult world. Interest in electrical and mechanical devices, in commercialized amusements, in newspapers, and magazines, and in certain aspects of social, religious, educational, and political organization all serve to induct children into the adult world. Even the reading of imaginative literature in which the heroes are adults or participate in the adult world aids the child to understand something of the world other than athletics and feats of self-exploitation. Gradually he grows into the realm of more or less impersonal interests. This gradual process of maturing is not sufficiently appreciated by critics of a group-work program stressing games, simple dramatics, and handicraft for children. They fail to see that activities which seem inconsequential to adults may be the means of forming habits of approaching new experiences, of gaining confidence, and of developing sociality which make adult life successful and satisfying.

It is because individual emotional reactions to success and failure are so crucial in determining what the personality is to be that the group leader is obligated to exercise such control that failure is not too frequently experienced by a client.(15) In a summer camp for boys there was a youngster called by his

companions "Billy." He was about of average size, with a healthy, sound body, and of good intelligence. He had no noticeable peculiarities which would bring on him the scorn of the other boys. But within a day or two after arrival at camp he was held in mild derision by his fellows. The camp director noticed that the boy was not participating in swimming or athletics and that whenever opportunity presented itself Bill was off in a corner alone, reading. He urged him to become more active and to read less. Because of the prodding of the director and his tent counselor, Billy appeared on the ball field and was chosen on a team. He was put in the field and as chance would have it a fly came his way. He ran for the ball with hands placed together at the wrists, forming an open V. Needless to say he failed to catch the ball. It hit him in the stomach and for awhile he was a very unhappy boy, physically. But he was much more unhappy emotionally, for his error was costly to his side and his teammates and the spectators did not hesitate to belittle him. He left the field in tears, adding to his disgrace, and vowed he'd never play again. The counselor in charge of baseball shared the team's feelings of condemnation, but the director realized that Billy's inability to play ball might be due to shyness and lack of practice.

A sympathetic counselor was secured to give special attention to the boy, but he was advised to develop a natural relationship of counselor-to-camper rather than appearing in the role of Billy's protector or special coach. At first the man and the boy took walks together and confidence was established. Then they

began to "play catch" with a playground ball when they were away from the other campers. Mr. G. made occasional suggestions regarding catching and throwing. Gradually the boy improved and a regulation baseball was substituted. The improvement continued and batting and fielding were added to the practice. Meanwhile Mr. G. had assumed special responsibility for teaching Billy to swim during the period regularly devoted to the instruction for non-swimmers. The boy progressed rapidly and within two weeks won the twenty-five yard straightaway race for beginners. He gained self-assurance and there was a definite carry-over in confidence to other physical activities.

When Mr. G. felt that Billy was reasonably skilled in catching, throwing, batting, and fielding he arranged one evening to have an informal game of "Two-ole cat" develop around him and the boy as they played "Knock-out flies." Billy played satisfactorily and was no more noticed as a participant in the game than were the other players. Within a day or two he was accepted as a fielder on one of the teams in the Junior League. He never became an outstanding player but he developed average ability and gave evidence of deriving genuine enjoyment from the game. He developed into a swimmer of more than average ability and regularly placed in competitive events within his own class. By the time the second half of the camp season had begun Billy was participating normally in the life of the camp and was in every sense a member of the group.

When the camp season was over the director induced the parents to send the boy to a Y. M. C. A. within a

mile of their home, since the neighborhood in which he lived was of the apartment residence type providing almost no opportunities for active recreation, and with very few boys of his age in the area. At the Y. M. C. A. Billy became a member of a club with an athletic and social program and the socializing process that was started in the camp went on throughout the rest of the year. Billy's lack of athletic ability, his emotional unhappiness in situations calling for athletic prowess, and his own conviction that he did not care for athletics and games would seem to have been due solely to lack of opportunity and encouragement to acquire skills.

The director and the counselor in this situation recognized that the group is not an end in itself, but may be used as a device for developing the personality and character of the individual. They therefore followed a principle which might be stated as follows: when protection and development of personality are the aims of the group process, individual work must supplement and even supplant group participation, but it should prepare for later participation in a group.

Thus far our discussion of psychological factors in learning has dealt chiefly with the principles of Readiness and Unreadiness. We have, however, stressed the Law of Effect in emphasizing the importance of insuring satisfactions as a result of activity. This law holds that "An organism tends to repeat and learn quickly those reactions which are accompanied or followed by a satisfying state of affairs." In view of the fact that group work utilizes the leisure time of people who voluntarily associate themselves with others for enjoyable activity, the leader would appear to be under a

special obligation to insure that the activity produces satisfactions.

We must not, however, fall into the error of setting immediate satisfactions as our goal. As we have pointed out elsewhere, in many worthwhile activities the attempt to develop skill is attended by immediate annoyances. Old, comfortable habits must be overcome and replaced. In accordance with the Law of Disuse, which holds that the strength of a habit is decreased when the habit is not practiced, we must seek to prevent lapses into old, inferior practices. Repetitious practice which results in physical and emotional fatigue must be carried on. At certain stages of development, the feeling that one is more inept than before he began adds additional discouragement, and unless the practice is pushed through until there is a new surge of competent performance a permanent feeling of inferiority may result.

If an educational scheme were to countenance the discontinuance of activities as soon as difficulties and annoyances were encountered, it would be the antithesis of character-building. For neither character nor strong personality can accrue to one who turns aside from a venture when it begins to be difficult. The personality of such a one would be marked by too great a reliance upon others, or by day-dreaming and phantasy as flights from reality. Strong character demands that one face difficulties and overcome them, not merely for acquisition of the needed skills but also for the development of a generalized and pervasive quality of perseverance.

The task of the leader in situations in which an

initial readiness for the activity has been superseded by discouragement and annoyance is to find and use emotional satisfactions. The learner may be aided in his efforts to continue if he understands the sweep of the process upon which he has embarked, with the difficulties that are entailed. The encouragement that comes from realizing that everybody else goes through the same kinds of difficulty and that experts attained their present status only through consistent practice, may be used. Actual gains in skill should be watched for and commended. Appeals to pride and ambition may be made. Above all, the encouragement that comes from being kept in contact with the end-result of the process is important. To that end, if the group be a pottery class, finished models exemplifying good design and execution should be on exhibit. They should range from simple creations of a type which will suggest forms readily achieved by the novices, to the finest masterpieces that can be secured. If music be the chosen field, attendance at concerts and contact with musicians will usually lend encouragement to the student. In athletic activities such as swimming, diving, playing tennis, or riding, the novice should be given the opportunity to observe good form as displayed in a finished performance. In work with children and unsophisticated adults extraneous rewards such as credits, pins, emblems, banquets, and trips may supplement more logical means. In fact, such rewards may be the very means needed to reinforce waning interest, so that the activity is pushed through the lag periods to the point of achievement.

Coercion should be a last resort, and in group work

which aims to develop technical skills in children it should be used only with the approval of the parents and with the definite knowledge that the child possesses ability from which he will later derive enjoyment—ability which would otherwise remain undeveloped. The aim should be to develop in the individual the love of doing things well. If instead, a habit of working for awards has been engendered, or if coercion has resulted in the formation of such dislike of the subject and everything related to it that the person henceforth shuns it, the educational aims of the activity have been defeated.

Coercion in the realm of physical skills based upon well-developed motor habits would appear to entail less danger than coercion in social behavior involving manners, morals, and belief, or coercion in matters affecting appreciation of music, literature, art, and history. For motor habits, once acquired, constitute natural and comfortable modes of action. If, in addition, the performance brings subsequent social approval as does good posture, graceful diving, speedy swimming, and expert tennis, the original state of annoyance is replaced by feelings of satisfaction with one's own achievements. However, when coercion is used care should be taken that the learner has an insight into the purposes of the activity and the goal to be achieved. Insight may change coercion into self-discipline.

Awards are frequently used to motivate activity in which there is no natural interest. That there are dangers in the use of awards is obvious. Chief among these is the possibility that the person may learn to work solely for the accumulation of prizes, regarding

the activities as necessary evils. There is so much distasteful social and economic activity in adult life motivated by a desire for gain that group leaders should avoid extending such motivation into leisure-time activities. In our formal educational system there is a tremendous amount of extraneous motivation. Many a pupil regards certain studies as necessary evils to be endured for the sake of promotions, degrees, prizes, or Phi Beta Kappa keys. We have referred to Professor Kilpatrick's point that in every learning situation there are three aspects: primary learnings, associate learnings, and concomitants. The concomitant attitudes toward an activity may consist of satisfaction and thoroughness of work, or they may be a complex of boredom, irritation with the task, and a trick of doing the minimum amount of work required to pass the test. If the latter type of attitude develops, we cannot claim that the task which elicits it is educational or character-building. Despite the efforts of movements for young people to safeguard against this danger, it is ever present in any scheme in which prescribed tasks must be done. A large part of the boredom with literature, music, art, and the world of nature may be due to the fact that people were in their youth forcibly "introduced" to these things and under the coercion developed unfortunate but understandable distastes for them. We recall, in a very excellent summer camp, asking a girl to identify a tree. The girl had attained a high rank in a nature study organization and she might have been expected to know the name of the tree but her answer was "How should I know? I passed that last week." Her goal in performing required activities had been

achieved in reaching a place of social importance in the camp.

It is often claimed for the award-motivated activity scheme that it stresses learning-by-doing. This much-used psychological phrase appears to give the scheme educational sanction. But before we can justify any plan by its apparent conformity with the activity criterion we must ask the prior question "What is the person doing?" Is he learning to identify constellations or is he learning to pass tests and win honors? Is he learning to be thorough in his mastery of a subject or is he learning to "get by"? Is he learning that he can put up with uninteresting subjects for a short time or is he learning that innumerable realms are packed with meaning and mystery.

If group work aims to develop thoroughness, skill, and appreciation, the obligation rests upon those who use awards to insure that the award system does not carry with it concomitants that negate educational purposes.

We must not, however, assume that interests can never be aroused through extraneous motivation. Many people take up bridge, golf, literature, dancing, and a multitude of other activities, solely because these things are considered to be social assets. But after the initial grind of instruction and preliminary practice has passed, increasing skill often results in the development of real interest. This transmutation of purpose in the course of activity is not only supported by empiric experience but is indicated by a principle of psychology which holds that "every drive becomes a mechanism and every mechanism may become a drive."

Woodworth uses the term *mechanism* to denote the means by which an action is performed and *drive* to mean the motive power behind the performance. (16) It is possible to explain the transmutation of attitude in the acquisition of a skill on the basis of the psychological principle that when a habit is established activity tends to follow the routes of the habit pattern. The organism appears to act on a basis of conserving energy, and satisfaction is derived from utilizing organized neuro-muscular routes. (17)

Psychiatrists claim that many of the things we dislike or to which we are indifferent are those that make us physically or emotionally uncomfortable. A girl in a summer camp may have an aversion to learning to play tennis because the energy necessary to learn new physical habits is not immediately compensated by an access of skill. But this aversion may be further reinforced because her lack of competence causes her to suffer embarrassment when others observe her inept efforts. Such a child may become convinced that she does not enjoy sports and she may avoid every opportunity to learn games involving physical skill. If the lethargic and incompetent child can be led to engage in periods of practice, and the practice continued until skill begins to emerge, the sense of personal inferiority may be overcome and a desire for further activity engendered. The practice may be engaged in because of a leader's urging, or because of the infectious enthusiasm of companions, or because of a desire to gain an award; or it may be compulsory. Wherever such a plan is followed it is important to carry on the practice under sympathetic and patient leadership, and to insure

an absence of spectators who might embarrass the learner.

Underlying most of the movements that use awards and subtle coercion to insure participation in the program is a belief that every person should attain a "four-square" or "all-round" development and that this may be achieved by experience in a wide variety of activities. A subsidiary purpose is the presentation of a sufficiently wide variety of samples of occupational activities to serve as a pre-vocational guide to interests and abilities.

We have reiterated that an aim of group work is the widening and enriching of human experience. This might appear to be a justification of the philosophy of the all-round program. There is, however, a wide divergence between a method that starts from aroused interests, guiding these into related activities and integrating all aspects of an undertaking into a pattern of meaning, and a method which organizes programs in terms of classified subject matter and required tasks.

The Knighthood of Youth program, sponsored by the National Child Welfare Association, has devised a comprehensive chart upon which the child records daily at least twelve achievements, as for example Exercise 3, "I got up and went to bed on time and without dawdling," or Exercise 6, "I listened to grown people politely without interrupting or answering rudely," or Exercise 10, "I did a kindness to some one without being asked." (18)

The Boy Scouts, (19) Girl Scouts, (20) Camp-Fire Girls, (21) Girl Reserves, (22) and Woodcraft League (23) all set forth graded activities, the achievement of

which results in the conferring of an honor or a credit, as a study of their handbooks will reveal. The group leader may agree with the protagonist of a well-rounded program regarding the dangers of remaining content with meagre interests and narrow specialization. He may even utilize awards and coercions to achieve specific ends. He will, nevertheless, be highly skeptical concerning any program that relies for its major appeal upon awards or that involves advancement through grades, ranks, or degrees.

Each activity should contribute wherever possible toward the promotion of health, the enrichment of æsthetic appreciation, the growth of finer personal relationships, the increase of skill and knowledge, and a sense of respect for the infinite mystery of the universe. If these aims are realized, as one enterprise succeeds another, year after year, the program will make its contribution to the development of well-rounded personalities. John Dewey emphasizes this point of view in the following paragraph:

“Healthy living is not something to be attained by itself apart from other ways of living. A man needs to be healthy in his life, not apart from it, and what does life mean except the aggregate of his pursuits and activities? A man who aims at health as a distinct end becomes a valetudinarian, or a fanatic, or a mechanical performer of exercises, or an athlete so one-sided that the pursuit of bodily development injures his heart. When the endeavor to realize a so-called end does not temper and color all other activities, life is portioned out in strips and fractions. Certain acts and times are devoted to getting health, others to cultivating religion,

others to seeking learning, to being a good citizen, a devotee of the fine arts and so on." (24)

The all-round theory which requires sampling of a great variety of activities tends to ignore diversity of abilities among people and to force them all into one mold. It seems evident that gifted individuals will make their greatest contributions to human welfare if, instead of attempting to do a great many things for which they have no taste or great capacity, they cultivate to the full their latent talents, safeguarding against narrow specialization by the mastery of all techniques and knowledge related to their central interest. The insistence upon the all-round scheme has been caricatured by Dr. Amos Dolbear in the following allegory.

"In antediluvian times, while the animal kingdom was being differentiated into swimmers, climbers, runners, and fliers, there was a school for the development of the animals.

"The theory of the school was that the best animals should be able to do one thing as well as another.

"If an animal had short legs and good wings, attention should be devoted to running, so as to even up the qualities as far as possible.

"So the duck was kept waddling instead of swimming. The pelican was kept wagging his short wings in the attempt to fly. The eagle was made to run and allowed to fly only for recreation.

"All this in the name of education. Nature was not to be trusted, for individuals should be symmetrically developed and similar, for their own welfare as well as for the welfare of the community.

"The animals that would not submit to such training,

but persisted in developing the best gifts they had, were dishonored and humiliated in many ways. They were stigmatized as being narrow-minded and specialists, and special difficulties were placed in their way when they attempted to ignore the theory of education recognized in the school.

"No one was allowed to graduate from the school unless he could climb, swim, run, and fly at certain prescribed rates; so it happened that the time wasted by the duck in the attempt to run had so hindered him from swimming that his swimming muscles had atrophied, and so he was hardly able to swim at all; and in addition he had been scolded, punished, and ill-treated in many ways so as to make his life a burden. He left school humiliated, and the ornithorhynchus could beat him both running and swimming. Indeed, the latter was awarded a prize in two departments.

"The eagle could make no headway in climbing to the top of a tree, and although he showed he could get there just the same, the performance was counted a demerit, since it had not been done in the prescribed way.

"An abnormal eel with large pectoral fins proved he could run, swim, climb trees, and fly a little. He was made valedictorian." (25)

Charts and standards are sometimes effective in challenging to new activity or in pointing out a weakness in a program. During our experience as a boys' work director we experimented with the American Standard Program, which developed into the Christian Citizenship Program. One of the boys charted, George S., was above the average in intellectual ability and

social achievement but decidedly incompetent in physical activity. A study of his chart and the accompanying time schedule revealed graphically to George that he was getting too little outdoor exercise and athletic activity. He reorganized his daily schedule to include walking to and from high school and he secured from our physical director suggestions for simple daily exercises. George was unable to climb a rope, chin-the-bar, and do a chin-chest-toes dip. His inability to perform these feats which were easily done by his companions made him feel inferior. By hard practice, within a few months George could hold his own with his chums and he gained significantly in poise. Granted that it is of no value in adult life to be able to perform these or similar physical tricks, the growth of skill in them had decided value, since it demonstrated to George that he was not innately inferior to the other boys. The experience had greater value since it acted as the starting point for a moderate interest in sports as a means of recreation and physical well-being. George quickly forgot the chart, and although during his college career he won first prize in a state-wide competition for original plays he never developed a nice square graph. His own comment, on one occasion was "So, I ought to be square? I look like a kite! Never mind, maybe I'll go high."

In young children it is sometimes possible to create an objective or to strengthen a weak drive by use of a chart or awards which objectify for the child his gains in achievement. Dr. Douglas Thom, an authority on behavior problems of children, reports that children sometimes show remarkable progress in day-to-day

control of behavior if stimulated by a visual record. One of his devices is a picture of a house with a slate roof. Each day that the child conforms to the desired standard is symbolized and rewarded by the coloring of one slate. However, Dr. Thom acknowledges that there are difficulties in transforming the motivation from desire for awards to inherent satisfactions.(26)

Proponents of the all-round philosophy point to the dangers of too early specialization and emphasize the fact that before a person can be sure that he has chosen the right field in which to invest his life he must know something of the choices open to him. The seventy or more distinct types of activity which, through the medium of merit badges and other awards, are presented for examination constitute opportunities for pre-vocational sampling. Somewhere in this great round of activities interests are certain to be aroused and such interests may lead to suggestions for future vocational life. We have shown that the early interests of children and young people are largely adventitious and in no way define the areas of possible interests in which those same people could with profit engage in adult life. Let us assume that a boy who has never encountered the fascinating field of chemistry, nor had the opportunity to work with tools in a shop amid machines and materials, nor had the stimulation of hearing good music and receiving instruction upon a musical instrument, suddenly begins to exhibit marked ability in sketching with pencil and paper. With a little encouragement he develops great skill and comes to look forward to a career as an illustrator. While one would not wish to deny the reality of the

boy's talent nor to shunt him off upon another line of activity, it would not seem reasonable to conclude that the boy's sole or greatest potential gift necessarily lay in the field of illustrating. It might be that far greater talents for activities wholly unlike illustrating lay dormant and undiscovered. If the boy followed illustrating to the neglect of a broad cultural educational preparation, he might sacrifice the opportunity to become a skilled practitioner in some highly specialized and little exploited field in order to become a moderately successful illustrator in a field plentifully supplied with workers.

Children are notably drawn to romantic and dramatic types of activity. Just now there is a lure about aviation which is parallel to the romance surrounding radio two decades ago. Ship radio operation today does not necessarily call for wide educational background, nor does the work offer large vocational opportunities. Yet in the early days of radio thousands of boys responded to its dramatic lure and enrolled in short-term vocational courses in wireless telegraphy, foregoing the opportunities for education provided by the formal schools. Among the boys of 1900-1915 who reacted to the dramatic pull of ocean wireless operation and followed the hobby to the extent of finding vocations as professional operators, may be many who sacrificed brilliant careers in more highly skilled professions. The vocation of air pilot may within the next decade or two become the equivalent of the chauffeur's occupation. Yet the romance of aviation is so strong today that boys everywhere are selecting it as a vocational choice, entirely neglecting the two or

three thousand other callings in which a life work might be found.

It is partially to obviate the early fixation of interests which might arise through the cultural poverty of the environment or through the snap judgments of the individual that the practice of providing a wide variety of activities has grown.

Our criticism of radio and aviation as hobbies which mature into vocations is not that they do not contain opportunities for wide educational outlooks. Rather, our criticism is based on the fact that the potentialities for personal development are often lost sight of, since the acquisition of a limited group of techniques enables the enthusiast to secure satisfactions. In two notable cases boys who left school in order to follow radio and aviation derived from their hobbies well-rounded education and achieved marked success.

Shortly after 1910 H. S., then about sixteen years old, became interested in wireless telegraphy. Like thousands of other boys he constructed his own set, following simple directions in popular scientific and mechanical journals. The set worked, but H. S. had no deep understanding of the principles upon which a wireless set operated. He joined a club of amateur operators who met almost nightly at the East Side Y. M. C. A. in New York. Despite the fact that he had a full-time job, H. S. devoted his evenings and spare time to a thorough study of the theory of radio communication and the construction of instruments. In order to understand the basic principles of electricity better he read up on the subject and took evening courses dealing with electrical theory and practice.

Meanwhile, he and a few other pioneer spirits experimented constantly to improve reception and transmission. Long before the current broadcasting of the voice and of music had developed, H. S. and other young men were experimenting in this direction. On New Year's Day, 1915, he and his club mates had so perfected a method of wireless telephony, as it was then called, that they were able to arrange with a group of amateurs at West Side Y. M. C. A., about two miles away, to transmit phonograph music which was publicly received in the club laboratory at East Side Branch.

Not content with this triumph, H. S. enrolled in a course for commercial wireless operators, passing the work with distinction and shipping on vessels as a professional operator. He still continued work along every line which conceivably related to his subject and after an experience as a teacher of radio theory and practice he became radio inspector for the Government and author of a standard text-book for operators. During America's participation in the World War he became a lieutenant in the United States Navy and was charged with great responsibility for equipping vessels and sea-planes with radio apparatus. Following the Armistice, when the United States Navy decided to sponsor a trans-Atlantic flight of N-C planes, Lt. H. S. was made responsible for equipping them for radio communication. He was on the famous flight from New York to the Canary Islands and has the enviable record of having made his contribution to aviation and radio.

We hesitate to refer to the case of Colonel Lind-

bergh, since his popularity has made any reference to him seem trite. Yet we are likely to overlook the fact that the boy who left the university because the required studies interfered with his hobby not only became the world's most famous aviator but he is reported to have prosecuted intensive studies in aerodynamics, in automotive mechanics, in meteorology, navigation and in everything else that relates to aviation.

The records do not tell us how far Col. Lindbergh and Lt. H. S. pursued theory into mathematical, philosophical, and historical fields, but we know that these form logical sequences with their other studies and present infinite possibilities for the cultivation of insight and expertness. The point of greatest value to us is that, under the compulsion of a dominant interest, a wide range of activities may be engaged in, without the stimulus of extrinsic motivation. Self-discipline of a most intensive sort may be imposed in order that a thorough mastery of one's field may result. Sinclair Lewis, seeing the force of this fact, gave us a vivid portrayal of Martin Arrowsmith, the ambitious research bio-chemist, who pursued the difficult study of mathematics, not because he liked mathematics—he loathed it—but because he saw that the bio-chemist without mathematical theory was doomed to be a technical assistant to the great minds that were willing to pay the price in preparation.

The principle under which well-rounded experience may be secured as a result of activity motivated by intense interest has, we hope, been demonstrated by our illustrations. If the critics of an interest-motivated

scheme can rightfully claim that there are great dangers of narrow specialization in it, the critics of the scheme of compartmented activities can with equal force point to the danger of superficiality. The person who fails to cultivate an interest to the full because, perchance, the scheme of organization under which he is seeking honors requires him to go on to other subjects, has done violence to his intelligence. Superficial sampling of piecemeal experiences works against the development of personality possessing integrity and balance.

The attempt to secure activity along broad lines must eventually motivate a person through an appeal to his imagination. He must be made to see that narrowness robs him of the fullest competence and enjoyment in his own chosen field, while every bit of skill and knowledge from related fields makes him increasingly intelligent and competent in his own activity.

In our discussion of psychological principles influencing group work we may appear to have stressed the laws of readiness and effect at the expense of the laws of use, disuse, frequency, and recency. This has, in part, been intentional. We assume that there has been a readier recognition of the need for recent and frequent use of a psychological mechanism, if it is to be kept in a state of efficient functioning, than there has of the need for readiness and satisfaction. We also assume that the major functions of group work have to do with activities carried on in a social setting and for social purposes, rather than with drill for perfection of habit patterns in individual life. Where the establishment of a definite habit is desired we agree

with Wheeler, that repetition should be taken for granted, and other factors such as the goal of activity, the incentives and distractions, the setting of the activity, and the insight of the learner, should be the major objects of consideration.

SUMMARY

In two earlier chapters we have discussed social and educational factors which in this chapter we have amplified in considering their relation to group work. We have stated that any situation may furnish opportunities to pursue program activities in various fields. We based our view upon the relatedness of subject-matter, upon the fact that human beings learn specific things in specific situations, upon the economy of learning things when their value has been perceived and just before they are needed, and upon the necessity of enlisting active interest. Although the specific facts and skills called primary learnings, and the related facts and skills called secondary learnings are important, they appear less permanent than the concomitant learnings which exist in every situation. These methods of approach, habits of work, and attitudes of enjoyment or dislike may be the most important results of activity. The ability to choose, plan, and execute constitutes an important type of learning.

We, therefore, favor activities in group work which originate with the members of the group. Meagre interests, however, need enriching, and present interests need development. Often the leader should suggest activities, since some social environments result in impoverished ideas. Awards may be used to stimulate activity but care must be exercised lest people learn to work for the awards rather than to enjoy activities. Even coercion may be

resorted to, but coercion is a measure protective of life, safety, property, or personality, rather than an educational measure.

Leaders may adopt too passive an attitude because they fear to indoctrinate, they feel personally inferior, they have a false sense of the present value of all personalities rather than a true appreciation of the potentialities of persons, and finally because they fail to understand how interests originate, and hence are unwilling to attempt to stimulate them.

Interests may be stimulated by utilizing human desires for physical, social, and economic security; for recognition as a person of charm, achievement, character, and importance; for response of a warm, emotional, personal nature; and for new experience. Educational leaders will not exploit people for the leaders' or agencies' profit or prestige.

Interest-centered activity may lead to narrow specialism, but all-round systems may result in dilettantism, and ignoring of individual differences. The ideal of broadening programs and enriching interests should always be a guiding principle. Good instruction often involves some over-riding of individual ideas and practices, so that in acquiring basic skills in the beginning bad habits are not formed. The growth of skill usually results in heightened enjoyment of the activity and increased self-assurance.

Group work alone rarely achieves its own ideals. Work with individuals, including protection of personality, stimulation, guidance, encouragement, and special aid in social adjustment, is often demanded. Society needs well-adjusted people, but it also needs diverse personalities and social types. Culture grows only where differences stimulate unique and competent individuals to new activity.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL
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CHAPTER V

TYPES OF GROUP LEADERSHIP

Opinions vary widely as to what types of ideal and activity enrich personal life and promote coöperation. The purposes and philosophies underlying group work range from those of autocratic dictatorship to ideals of complete freedom from external control. For example, among the sponsors of organizations and programs for children are those who believe that only by means of submission of the individual to the group can personal development and social coöperation be achieved. The ideals and programs which have the express purpose of making good citizens of children are worked out by adults instead of rising out of children's interests. The concept of citizenship is defined in terms of particularistic traits and beliefs. This would seem to be the view of such apparently antipodal organizations as the Fascist Ballila and the Russian Young Pioneers and Comsomols.

At the other extreme stand organizations which proceed on the assumption that the individual will make his greatest contribution to society if he develops his own peculiar capacities through individual initiative in creative activities. The practice is illustrated by an Anarchist school for children, in which each child does exactly what he pleases, receiving no instruction nor aid from adults unless he requests it.

Between the extremes of leadership theory and prac-

tice exists a wide variety of positions. In present-day group work there is a woeful lack of adequate social philosophy. Probably the majority of leaders have never thought out their procedures in terms of social objectives, but have consciously or unconsciously patterned their leadership after that of a more experienced person who has appeared successful in group work.

Even those leaders who have developed a definite philosophy rarely exemplify one clear-cut type of leadership. The practical demands of group situations may make it necessary for the leader who would prefer to have the members exercise initiative and democratic participation, to dominate the group for a time. Conversely, the leader who enjoys authority may be forced to acquiesce in sharing control with the members in order to hold the group together. Within a single group session the leader may shift from a relatively passive role as advisor to a position of complete domination in order to achieve ends which he regards as worthy.

Professor Emory Bogardus has classified group leaders into four types: the group compeller, the group exponent, the group representative, the group builder. (1) We may for convenience accept this classification and examine the philosophies underlying the various types of leadership. Our primary interest in this volume will be in the group builder or, as Chapin calls him, the socialized leader. (2) We shall refer to him frequently as the educational leader. This type of leader is self-effacing, seeking to direct the interest of his group toward its organization and program rather than toward himself. He seeks to discover within the

group needs and interests which can be made the starting points or organizing centers for activity. He relies on stimulation, suggestion, and inspiration, rather than on personal authority. He organizes, systematizes, and deputizes in such ways that, instead of carrying responsibility himself and as a result deriving the benefits of growing experience, he develops within the group increasing powers of initiating, planning, carrying responsibility, and assuming leadership.

Let us now examine the other three classifications in order. The compeller represents a familiar type of leader. He is the leader who dominates the group, doing its thinking or getting others to do it for him, but taking over their ideas and finally formulating the policies. He may secure adherence to his program by any means which promise success, ultimately relying upon coercion, if necessary. This type is most readily recognized in the military commander, the political dictator, the party boss, the relief administrator in times of catastrophe, the autocratic employer, and the administrator of business or engineering ventures. Under normal conditions of modern life the ruthlessness of the autocratic leader is rather successfully veiled. Chicanery, flattery, trading, encouragement, and reward are skilfully used and are considered better form than direct methods of compulsion. Nevertheless, the will-to-power which is basic in the compeller asserts itself in the show of force when force seems necessary.

It is commonly assumed in the United States that the spirit of democracy and the diffusion of knowledge have ended dictatorial leadership. Lip service is done to the democratic conception of life but much of

this apparent acceptance of democratic ideals is ritualistic rather than realistic. Politicians, business men, and administrators, who pride themselves upon being practical men of the world, rely heavily upon dominance, wheedling, bargaining, and "log rolling"; and an enormous amount of adulation is given to the leader who "gets things done," even though the methods employed be ethically dubious. It is not without significance that so many American business men and financiers openly express their admiration for contemporary European dictators. The dominance of the authoritarian in religion, politics, and economic life has been too long-continued to enable a whole people quickly to outgrow the modes of thought associated with authoritarianism. Moreover, unless authoritarianism is harsh, it is a comfortable way of dealing with problems. Thomas Vernor Smith points out that "the longevity of an outgrown conception of leadership is reinforced by a common-sense reason based upon the persistence of a deep illusion of childhood. Adults mediate the physical environment to childhood, and impress the child, his confidence gained, as being far wiser than they are. This dependence upon the funded wisdom of another in moments of personal trouble is so easy a way of life that in most of us it long outlives childhood." (3)

A current point of view would have it that people everywhere are jealous of their liberties and resent the encroachment of authorities in realms where the people could make their own decisions. The wish of the educators is possibly father to the thought. On the contrary, modern people give evidence of a lack of con-

cern with self-direction. Life has become so complicated that there is a tendency to slough off as many responsibilities as possible. Large numbers of people are sufficiently tired after their day of economic activity, especially if a long trip to and from work be part of the routine, to be quite willing to allow other people to worry about the management of the organizations and enterprises with which they are connected.(4) Then, too, delegation of authority appears more efficient than democratic participation, and efficiency is often deemed the prime value.

A school of wise social philosophers who regard as disruptive of genuine democracy the tendency toward decision-making by the few, is emphasizing a special technique of group thinking as an attack upon the problem.(5) There is some tendency on the part of members of this school to assume that in all the multitudinous relationships of group life men should follow a group-thinking process, arriving democratically at decisions representing integration of particularistic points of view, rather than compromise between two or more debated positions. We have suggested that the intense drive of economic life consumes so much emotional energy that men, in many cases, have little desire to take upon their shoulders the burdens of organizational management. Furthermore, modern men have a multiplicity of contacts with organizations, and within any single organization the knowledge necessary to an intelligent settling of an issue may be so vast and of so expert a character that the group-thinking process becomes unwieldy and burdensome. The group-thinking process may be valuable to a group em-

barked upon a joint project or in deliberative assembly, but there is neither philosophical obligation nor practical value to dictate its use in all group activities of the planning type.

Thomas Vernor Smith suggests that the aim of the democratic process is the education of individuals to a recognition of the necessity of division of labor and a willingness to delegate in various fields to leaders qualified by expert knowledge the function of pointing the way toward solutions. He says, in part, "Science, like industrialism, rests squarely upon the principle of the distribution of labor. . . . The necessity for leadership in our modern life grows out of the impossibility of any man's being omniscient. But the same lack that necessitates leadership prescribes the kind of leadership needed. It is of the specialist, piecemeal type. In order to know enough to lead here, I must choose to be relatively ignorant there. That means that the choice that makes me a leader here requires me to be a follower there . . . in a civilized society, every man must be a follower in many fields." (6)

The burdensomeness of playing an active part in the life of even one group is sometimes an excuse for neglecting to share at all in group responsibility. Yet, because of the benefits flowing from varied group affiliations, many men desire to retain their memberships, reducing their contribution to the payment of the membership fees. To some degree there may be a recognition of the fact that active participation in group management will impose responsibilities that will limit freedom. In his highly entertaining and instructive book, *Spain*, (7) Salvador de Madariaga points to such

a psychological attitude as influencing the modern Spaniard: "The instinct for preserving his own liberty makes him eschew all forms of social coöperation, since all collective work tends to reduce him to the status of a piece of machinery. His anti-coöperative instinct comes to reinforce his tendency to dwell on the two poles of his psychology—man and universe—leaving uncultivated the middle stretches in which social and political communities lie." That a price must be paid for such aloofness from the concerns of social groups is indicated in de Madariaga's next sentence. "In what concerns collective and particularly political life, the Spaniard is apt to judge events according to a dramatic criterion singularly free from any practical considerations or intellectual prepossessions." To judge events according to a dramatic criterion without subjecting decisions to intellectual control on the basis of practical considerations is becoming increasingly dangerous in a world so complex that even in matters which appear relatively simple, expert knowledge is necessary to efficient control.(8) People who make decisions on such a basis become easy victims of the phrase-maker and the propagandist.

It becomes the task of the group worker to differentiate between organizational activities in which the process should be made contributory to the development of critical thought and social responsibility, and activities which may be considered as ends in themselves. Nor is the distinction, even here, wholly one of kind. The group leader must recognize differences in interests within a given constituency. Within practically all organizations will be found those who have

time for and interest in the organization process. The project before the group may be the planning of a lecture course, a concert series, or an Institute on Foreign Affairs. Obviously the great majority of people reached by such activities are chiefly concerned with the quality of the performance.

For them the activity is consummatory. But for the little group of insiders who plan and promote the activity a process of group thinking and shared responsibility may transform the planning process from one which is merely necessary preparation into an educational process which may have more value than the public meetings which result from the process. The group leader, then, must insure that every planning process carried on by a group becomes an educative one, but he must also recognize that in attempting to draw into the planning process those whose real interest is in the consummatory activity, the interest of the latter group may be lost and a sense of irritation engendered.

The increasing specialization of functions and the growth of the "cafeteria" habit of selecting social values as desired, where they can best be obtained, has resulted in a decreased interest in the mechanisms of management and an increased demand for professional service. It is only when the management appears inefficient and the services suffer that a desire to control begins to manifest itself. The great growth of commercialized recreations, including the huge increase in the number of spectators at athletic events, may indicate a lack of concern with self-directed activity.

The shrewd group worker who desires numerical

success above other values can capitalize the situation just described. If he be an intelligent diagnostician of social life he can find the points at which people feel themselves thwarted, the points at which interests can be aroused, and at which present interests are not being fully met. He can then create the mechanisms for satisfying needs and interests and by a clever use of appeals secure participation in his activities. Appeals to such motives as the desire for social approval, for favor with the opposite sex, for physical, social, and economic safety, and the wish to appear exclusive and superior are effective.(9) The shrewd utilization of one or more of these basic drives will often ensure an initial enrollment in a group activity. If the organizer is skillful in giving the public what it thinks it wants, it will return for more and not ask too many questions about the mechanics of organization. The bulk of such group activities as star lecture and concert courses are promoted by professional group workers on the basis of their own diagnoses of social interest. This represents autocratic leadership typical of the salesman. The basic assumption of the leader may be that superior training gives him a knowledge of what people really need; or, if he be more cynical, merely that his job depends upon promoting "successful" programs and that this can be accomplished by outguessing the public demand and "making the public like it."

This newer type of autocratic leadership we may call "salesmanlike" leadership. Its autocracy is cloaked only because open autocracy antagonizes people. The business slogan "Break down sales resistance" indicates a determination to force buyers to accept what

one has to sell, instead of supplying them with what they want or need. So the salesmanlike leader "puts over" his program by inducing people to think that they want what he wants them to want. One of the favorite devices of this type of leader is to set up his preliminary campaign of lobbying so thoroughly that, when the governing group comes together, individual members apparently spontaneously suggest the leader's program. The process is often carried so far that the leader eventually deceives himself into believing that this is the democratic process. In so far as the leader is an expert in social diagnosis, there is a real justification for his assumption of direction in program planning but such leadership should be vested in him by his group in virtue of his command of facts. His assumption of it by a process of indirection is a piece of political realism but it is not democratic.

Autocratic leadership, whether avowed or indirect, may be based on the individual will-to-power, which in turn may arise from a selfish desire to accomplish one's own ends; or it may arise from a sense of inferiority which seeks compensation through the establishing of authority, quite without respect to the ends to be served.

The autocratic leader may be found in group work in the role of the reformer, the teacher, or the protagonist of a cause. His social values seem to him to be so indisputable that he must secure their adoption by the group by any means which appear practicable. He is the person who sets up pre-arranged programs which groups must accept if they desire the benefits which the agency has to dispense. Group compellers

in social work justify their philosophies and methods on the grounds that they have higher standards than the people among whom they work, and that their expert knowledge gives them the right to manipulate people so as to insure the acceptance of the higher standards.

Although cloaked by diplomacy, finesse, and even downright kindness, there is a vast amount of autocracy in group work. This is probably inevitable in a movement so largely constituted of people who desire to help other people; for the conviction that one can make a vocation of helping is often coupled with a conviction of the superiority of one's own outlook upon life. The expounders of the philosophy of the social settlement movement found a happy adjustment of the problem of helpfulness without condescension and dictation, by proposing that the way to help people to the best in life is to settle among them as neighbors, sharing with them whatever spiritual resources one is able to utilize for one's own life. Settlement workers respond to requests for help, not by solving problems for the individual, but by working with him to help him solve them himself.

The tactful group compeller has certain great advantages over other types of leader. His program and the steps toward its realization are usually clear-cut and workable. He knows enough to give to his followers benefits which they value. Furthermore, since he is not held back by the necessity of considering the counsels of many people nor dependent upon their coöperation, his program moves expeditiously. From conception of plan to completion of program is a rela-

tively short, direct line of action. In consequence, a public which ordinarily does not worry about social philosophy but which does admire achievement praises him as an efficient man of action.

The world economic crisis and the consequent grave suffering of hundreds of millions of people have contributed to the rise of political dictators in Central Europe. When men are fear-stricken and confused they instinctively look to a strong leader who speaks in terms of assurance. The uncertainty, resentment, and downright desperation which is so characteristic of European peoples today has its counterpart in the American community. The yearnings of certain people for a strong deliverer are expressed in the phrase, "What this country needs is a dictator." This movement is likely to wane with the return of normal economic conditions. But, if it captures our country, everything for which this book stands will be in complete eclipse.

The second type of leader is the group exponent. He represents in his personality the genius of a movement. People see in him an exemplification of their ideals and he is elevated to leadership without his seeking it. He may even be thrust into a position of control despite grave personal disqualifications for such office. Nobility of life and sensitiveness of spirit may be the basis of his selection in an altruistic movement; truculence and aggressiveness may lead to power in a nationalistic cause. Speech-making and display of power have no necessary relationship to the choice of the group exponent. It is usually true, of course, that the exponent of a cause possesses the ability to formu-

late the cause in attractive statements which stir the imaginations of the followers. Without question St. Francis of Assisi, Count Tolstoy, and Eugene V. Debs, each of whom represented a type of exponential leadership, possessed the gift of convincing speech.

Frequently the group exponent is the popular leader but not the real power in his organization. He is associated with a person of the executive type who may stay permanently in the background, working through other figures, or who may emerge later and displace the exponent. Lincoln Steffens expresses this truth when he says "Orators start movements and lead them for awhile, whether in labor, reform, or politics. When they succeed to power, the walking delegate Sam Gompers, the executive organizer Hiram Johnson, comes to the top. Carranza was a mute executive, unemotional, unsentimental, hard. . . . He trusted only himself, which is characteristic of this kind of dictator." (10)

The element of idealization of the group exponent reveals the strong emotional factors which must be considered in dealing with this type of leadership. As the popularity of the leader grows, the critical powers of the followers wane. The group develops the habit of attaching undue importance to every utterance of the leader. Having originally gained power because his judgments seemed true, he finds his pronouncements now accepted for truth because he gives them. Ministers of religion, teachers, and doctors are quite easily established in the thinking and feeling of laymen as exponential leaders, and those among them who genuinely desire to make available truth which frees must reckon with the fact of the emotional attachment

of their followers. Dangers of faddism and frenzy always reside in any movement following a powerful exponential leader.

The group exponent is undoubtedly the leader who wins the greatest popularity, since the psychological mechanisms of projection, identification, and wish-fulfillment all play a part in motivating his followers. These are all positive emotional elements, as compared with factors of fear and prudence which are so largely responsible for the following of the autocratic leader. Though it is possible for the group exponent to utilize his position to bring his followers into new truth and even to inaugurate activities that make people progressively more independent, the danger that the exponential leader may promulgate doctrines that are false and harmful, and formulate policies that lead his group into maladjustment with other groups, is very great.

Much graver, however, is the danger that in following the leadership of the group exponent the rank and file will lose their ability to make plans on the basis of estimated consequences. If we learn by doing, we learn to plan and execute by making plans and carrying them out. Such strong emotional dependence may be placed upon the leader that existing ability is inhibited, since those possessing ability which might shape plans and purposes are regarded as usurping the power of the leader. The exponential leader comes to occupy the emotional role of the father, centering upon himself affection, deference, and dependence.

Since the initial power of the group exponent rests upon his exemplification of a set of ideals, rather than merely upon his own attractiveness, his dominance can

usually be augmented by his use of shibboleths and symbols. The temptation to use phrases and symbols emotionally loaded with significance peculiar to his group may be so great that, consciously or unconsciously, he may make demagogic methods part of his stock in trade.

Occasionally exponential leadership and dictatorship are combined in one personality, as appears to be true of Mussolini and Hitler. If such leadership be offered to a confused and desperate people, it will be well-nigh impossible for more moderate counsels to prevail or for other types of leader to secure effective power.

The group representative, or the legally appointed spokesman, is a type of leader much in evidence in a society characterized by subdivision of labor, specialization of function, and delegation of power to chosen representatives. This type of leader is found in legislative halls, on committees of professional societies, representing vocational groups, and, throughout the whole range of group life, as parliamentary officer and program chairman. If he has personal qualifications, he is especially well-fitted to safeguard the interests of his group in such relations with other groups as are called for in councils, mergers, combines, and federations. He is not necessarily the maker of policy nor the protagonist of his own particular point of view within his group. He may be characterized chiefly by his ability to "keep his ear to the ground," to discern popular opinion, and to express it more skilfully than can the other individuals in the group. He may be a keen parliamentarian or a clever tactician, who can win his point without unduly arguing for it. In repre-

senting his group before other groups he can be depended upon to see that no axes are ground by the labor of his organization, unless some reciprocal advantage is gained by it. Finally, the representative may be selected for a highly specific function because he possesses unusual specialized abilities. Thus, in group work a club may choose a member who is unusually interested in history and politics to act as program chairman to arrange a series of meetings dealing with events of current political significance.

Closely akin to this type of leader is the specialist, such as the dramatic coach or handcraft expert, who is engaged by the group to give guidance in an activity calling for a high degree of skill or knowledge. Increasingly we are developing the habit of looking to experts for leadership in fields wherein the layman cannot hope to be competent. The mere relinquishing of power to another connotes nothing as to democracy or autocracy in social organization. Before judgment can be passed regarding a specific instance, it is necessary to know how power came into the hands of the possessor and what use is to be made of it. The autocrat seizes it or gains it by indirection; the exponent has it conferred upon him because of an emotional attachment of his group to him; while the representative and the expert retain power for the time being in virtue of a special function to be fulfilled.

The issue would be oversimplified if it were to appear that the group representative and the expert played precisely the same role. When the expert is called in it is usually with the understanding that he will take the initiative in virtue of his experience and that in

submitting any alternative plans he will rule out those that have no intrinsic technical merits, proposing with his endorsement that plan among other possible ones which appears to him best suited to the needs of the situation. Although the decision may ultimately be made by laymen, the technical procedures issue almost completely from the expert.

The group representative, however, may be regarded in one of two lights. He may be the spokesman of his group, yet using his own initiative, making decisions on the basis of his best judgment and periodically submitting himself to the checking of the electoral process. He may, on the other hand, attempt to sponsor only those measures for which he has been given a mandate from his clientele. The first type of representative possesses moral and intellectual autonomy; the second is a mouthpiece and a registrant of a vote. The factor of leadership in the second type is reduced almost to the point of disappearance. The qualities of the politician rather than of the statesman are put at a premium, and the representative devotes much of his effort to the task of sounding out popular opinion, keeping up political fences, and securing publicity for his achievements, all to the end that he may retain his job. From the earliest days of the Republic to the present time the problem of securing able political representatives has been bedevilled by the existence of a demand on the part of the public for a type of representative who has no ideas of his own, and by the large numbers of willing candidates for such offices. (11)

To assume, however, that the mere spokesman for a group and the registrant of its vote is always a negli-

gible figure personally, or that his influence must necessarily work against the educational processes of democratic life, is to ignore at least two factors. In the first place, he may be, not an office seeker who curries favor with his constituency, but the one person in the organization who can speak with authority for the group because he knows its history and development and the ramifications of the problems it confronts. He may be the most powerful person in the group because, in addition to a fine intellect and rich experience, he possesses the ability to argue forcefully and successfully for his views. Secondly, refined techniques of group counsel may put such new meaning into the democratic process that the representative will occupy a double role of educational leader within the group and advocate for the group's point of view when he is in contact with representatives of other groups. Under such a conception of representative leadership the false dilemma of servile following of mere public opinion or the arrogation to the leader of all power for deciding important issues might be avoided. Such a leader would regard an issue as an educational venture for himself and his clients. He would help them to put the problem in its proper setting, so that they could understand how it arose and why explanations as to causes and outcomes differed; and he would draw out from the protagonists of differing positions statements of what values they wished to conserve in reaching a solution. Tentative ways of acting would be outlined and the possible outcomes of each forecast. A solution would be devised which most nearly included the reconcilable values of various groups. After

free discussion, in which he would attempt to see that debate was subordinated to inquiry in order that getting at facts might be more important than making points, he would register the opinion of his group and then advocate that position in his relations with other groups. The leader's contribution would be chiefly to method rather than content while the issue was before his own group; but in his second role of advocate his contribution would be that of adequate representation of the group's point of view. Such a leader would undoubtedly function most effectively within groups of the face-to-face variety. His methods would be almost identical with those of the group builder or educational leader.

In periods of crisis, when the human spirit yearns for security and guidance, a grave skepticism develops regarding democracy. "Why should we not follow a dictator instead of muddling along?" is a question frequently proposed. In limited areas of experience and for limited periods of time, the dictator may prove to be a savior. But we must remember that his function is salvation, not education. And salvation demands an almost omniscient savior. Whether he be an autocrat deriving his power from fear and force, or a party symbol, gaining ascendance by his ability to assume the father role, the autocrat fails to carry his following along with him in the process that achieves results. He secures for them, not training, nor growth, but end-results. He endangers his group at several points. Having discouraged their participation in the group process, he has not equipped them for leadership when

he passes. Should his program prove a failure, his group is prepared with no alternatives since, ordinarily, any consideration of alternative plans is punished as disloyalty or heresy. Even if his plan succeeds, it results in cultural impoverishment, for without a rich diversity of influences culture cannot flourish.

Not the least valuable outcome of a democratic educational process is its production of a multiplicity of theories, plans, and experiments, the proponents of which are potential leaders. Should a crisis arise in which the accepted plan, policy, or procedure fails, there is always the likelihood that it may be modified or completely supplanted by one of the many other possibilities available. Thus, a democratic society always has a second or a third string to its bow. In the final analysis, democracy and education-as-growth are synonymous. A democracy can hardly advance beyond the understanding and interest of the people, but every real increment of true educational development has a tendency to reflect itself in enriched community life. Viewed in such a light, group work which results in democratic participation and in personal growth becomes a cultural factor of prime significance in community life.

SUMMARY

The philosophy of group work held by a leader will, in part, determine the type of leadership exercised. The ideal leadership will be modified in practice by the exigencies of group situations. The general direction of the group process is more significant than the type of leadership exercised at any given moment. Of four major types

of leader, the group compeller, the group exponent, the group representative, and the group builder, the last most completely expresses the ideals of group work. The group builder strengthens the group organization, discovers and develops group interests, organizes, systematizes, and deputizes, so that each member carries responsibilities which he is capable of achieving. He attempts to make the group less dependent upon his leadership as it grows in experience. He guides the group through the following stages of the thinking process:

The discovery of an interest or problem;

The analysis of the problem into its component factors;

Consideration of the bearing of these factors and the relation of the most significant factors;

The working out of tentative hypotheses or solutions, in terms of their possible consequences;

The selection of the hypothesis or solution which appears most satisfactory;

The trial of the hypothesis or solution in action;

The review of the consequences of the trial, to determine reasons for failure or success, with a view to improving future analysis of problems.

Special circumstances may dictate the acceptance of the role of autocratic leader. It should be recognized that this type of leadership at best is protective, rather than educational.

The specialist may assume leadership in order to render an expert service to the group. His power is conferred upon him until the special end in view has been achieved. In group work he may contribute definite educational values, but they will usually be of the instructional type.

He will rarely be interested in the process of socialization through group experience.

The group representative, or elected spokesman, usually conducts the parliamentary sessions of the group and expresses its ideas in negotiations with other groups. In group work representatives are found in house councils and congresses. They are almost never group leaders as we have used the term to designate a more mature person selected by the agency to contribute of his wider experience to the group's development.

The group exponent, or emotional representative, symbolizes the aspirations of the group. He may also be an autocrat, a representative, a specialist, or a group builder. A group builder who is also the exponent of the group's ideals will guard against exploiting the emotional ties which bind his followers to him. In our judgment there is little likelihood of continuous, successful group leadership when the members do not possess feelings of admiration and affection for the leader.

CHAPTER V

TYPES OF GROUP LEADERSHIP

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN ACTION

In recent years there has developed a controversy over the question of whether the group leader should lead in the sense of formulating programs and policies, or whether he should act as an advisor on problems and projects that spring spontaneously from the experiences of the members. Those who hold that the leader should assume the chief role in formulating policies and developing programs are generally concerned primarily with the imparting of knowledge and the development of approved habits or specific skills. The second group, which bases its procedure upon the principles outlined in earlier chapters, stresses the project method or other "creative-activity" methods, and usually states its aims in terms of process rather than outcomes. Its exponents point out that in a democratic society a prime requisite is the ability to participate with one's fellows in associations that are democratically controlled. Democratic methods are learned by practice in social situations where democratic procedure holds sway. No amount of instruction about democracy can substitute for actual experience in democratic control. If the leader dominates the group, a valuable element in the educational experience in group participation has been forfeited for an end-result; practice in self-government has been sacrificed for efficiency in imparting specific instruction. An important factor in the make-up of the

mature person is the ability to make choices amid the increasing and confusing multiplicity of goods presented in modern life. We learn to choose by choosing. Even though the choices made by group members may in the beginning be mediocre and devoid of cultural richness, these choices are significant because they present the opportunity for the leader to guide a growth process which develops strength as it is practiced. In other words, if people learn to think and choose for themselves, the materials of their choices can be enriched and their interests widened and deepened. The point of view is expressed in two apt phrases: "Self government is better than good government" and "The aim of education is to teach how to think, not what to think."

The leader's responsibility is the utilization of present interests which can be broadened and directed into more profitable channels; or, in the absence of any educationally promising activity, the arousal of interest in activities which are within the capacities of the group and to which they will probably respond. In short, the prime obligation of the group leader is the widening of the horizon of his group. When he accepts present interests as the basis of program activity, he utilizes them as starting points, not as ends in themselves. Possibly illustrations of the use of two slightly differing methods will make the point clear. In the first illustration, the leader, Mr. C., accepted a present interest of a boys' group as the starting point, utilizing it to increase the range of activity and to widen the interests of the group. In the second, Mr. G. purposely introduced an extraneous element into the situa-

tion, later tying it up with present ongoing activity. Both leaders utilized modifications of the project method.

The Pirates, a group of nine Italian-American boys between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, lived within a radius of one-eighth of a mile of Second Avenue and 9th Street, New York. They were a natural gang, interested in street games and random activity and were loosely organized as a basket-ball team. They applied for admission as a club at the "National Center" because only on the club basis could they secure the use of the gymnasium for basket-ball practice. Mr. C., a graduate of a prominent Eastern college, was assigned as their leader. He had been captain of his college basket-ball team and had also won his letter in football, but of his athletic prowess the boys knew nothing. His personality was decidedly of the type to appeal to boys, but from the outset these boys resisted his friendly advances. They had determined that, even though the Center's rules required that all groups using the building be organized as clubs and carry on a general program of activities, they would carry on only a sufficient semblance of club organization and activity to retain gym privileges. Since Mr. C.'s responsibility required of him that he attempt to stimulate club life, he was looked upon as the Center's "blood-hound," to use their own phrase, and his suggestions were resented.

Even on the basket-ball court the Pirates paid scarcely any attention to Mr. C. Being a modest person, he did not unduly assert himself and he never gave the boys an inkling of the fact that within the

past three years he had been a nationally known figure in the basket-ball world. One evening, after a conference with Mr. C., we visited the club. We noticed that the boys played fully dressed in street clothes while their opponents wore team uniforms. Furthermore, the Pirates wore caps during the game. Suspecting that the effect of the caps was psychological in that the Pirates desired to look "tough" and thus strike fear into the hearts of their opponents, we commented upon the matter in the club-room after the game. The boys replied that luck was always against them and they lost games when they played without their caps. Mr. C. had attempted in the past to get the boys to wear gym suits during basket-ball activity and to take shower-baths before dressing for the street. They consistently refused on the grounds that they caught cold if they took showers. When we asked why the team had no uniform and said that we thought they would take cold upon going outdoors after the game, we too were told that colds resulted from the taking of showers before going outdoors. Turning to Mr. C., we said,

"When you played on the C. University team your coach would not have permitted a man to play in his street clothes, purely for health reasons, would he?"

Then we added, turning to the boys,

"How do college teams win games? There's no 'hoodoo' on them when they play without caps. As a matter of fact, a uniformed team, bareheaded too, beat you fellows two weeks ago. How do you explain that?"

The second series of questions were almost ignored, for the boys were open-mouthed with astonishment. Silent for a moment, they soon found their voices.

"You played on the C. team?" they asked Mr. C., incredulously. "G'wan, tell us another."

We replied,

"Sure, he was captain of C. Three years ago he was chosen for the All-American team. If you don't believe it, call up the *World* or *Journal* Sporting Editor."

But they did believe it.

"We always knew he knew the game, but why didn't he tell us who he was?" one boy answered.

"Oh, he's modest. Most men who 'know their stuff' are modest," we said.

The meeting adjourned. The seed had been sown and the leader and the club supervisor planned to take advantage of whatever opportunities might result. It was agreed that the business meeting, which was a boring experience, be dropped next time, and that Mr. C. talk informally with the boys about basket-ball. As was expected, the boys crowded around the leader at the opening of the next meeting and plied him with questions about intercollegiate competition. One of them presented him with a newspaper clipping, "C. Five Defeats Dartmouth." Mr. C. talked informally, answering questions and relating anecdotes and finally said,

"You know, you fellows play an awfully dumb game. You're all would-be stars. You never pass the ball when you get a chance to shoot. As a result, you shoot from all parts of the floor and rarely make a basket. If you played an 'inside-game' with signals and good passing, you could swamp any team in this neighborhood, because you've all got the makings of good players and one or two of you could really be stars. Nicky,

for example, could make any college team if he developed in the right way."

The criticism stung them, the compliment flattered them, and Nicky, a real power in the group, was lured by the prospect of ego-inflation. A keen discussion ensued, in which Mr. C. gave them a sketchy idea of how strategy was planned and executed, promising them a session of blackboard work such as college teams have, if they wanted it on next club-night. Did they? They did! Mr. C. explained how colds might result from rapid evaporation and chilling when one wore sweaty clothes outdoors after a game.

Physical condition and the relation of it to successful competition were discussed. Finally, one boy said,

"I think you're right about training and about uniforms and showers but we can't afford uniforms. Anyway, we did get colds before when we used the showers."

It was discovered that the boys had bathed in a drafty shower room, had not provided themselves with towels and had used their shirts for a final drying, then put on the shirts! This practice was discussed and the questions of providing towels and remedying the drafty condition of the locker and shower room faced. Mr. C. then asked,

"Couldn't we raise money for uniforms, somehow?"

A spirited session followed, in which raffles, fairs, dances, subscription lists, and dramatics figured as possible ways of money-raising. Many favored the raffle. The leader did not, but instead of issuing his fiat against it, he drew out thoughtful discussion. It was admitted that raffles were "a big gyp." Usually an

insider won the prize. But it was protested they might run their raffle honestly.

"Even so," one said, "raffles are a nuisance. If we run one, we'll have to buy chances from every fellow who buys a chance from us."

The attitude of the law was mentioned by the leader and he received a liberal education from the boys on the wholesale violation of this law by political, religious, philanthropic, and social organizations of prominence.

Finally, it was decided to give a play. Mr. C., recognizing their limitations, suggested several sources of material but did not suggest a specific play. The next two club sessions were devoted to reading and discussing plays. After much consideration "The Tramp Barbers" and "Ding-a-ling," two one-act plays for boys, were decided upon. Casts were chosen by the boys themselves and try-outs held, as a result of which some changes in casting had to be made. Plans were laid for securing properties and costumes. Committees were formed for advertising, ticket-selling, and ushering. One boy painted posters which were strategically placed throughout the neighborhood. A committee was appointed to secure prices of outfits from several sporting goods firms. This committee visited several uptown stores, studied catalogs, and designed color schemes and insignia.

The performance was a moderate success financially and dramatically. Although not enough money was realized completely to equip the team, it was discovered that they had enough so that a little supplementing from their own pocket money would make it possible for them to buy outfits.

One night the committee reported their recommendations on style of uniform, insignia, and price, stating that the best price could be secured from the P-F Company in the vicinity. Objection was raised because the P-F Company represented a racial group distrusted by Italians. Mr. C. saw to it that the question of race judgments and race prejudice was thoroughly aired. As a result it was decided to adjourn the meeting and go in a body to the P-F shop, which was open evenings. The salesman, a member of the distrusted race, made a good impression on the boys and his willingness to show his stock and to recommend a low-priced uniform of good quality offset their original prejudice. The team order was given and the club returned, jubilant, to the Center. Some one suggested that a party was in order and the group went into executive session to plan for one in the near future.

In retrospect we can see many values in the Pirates' program as developed by Mr. C., which might not have been realized had he not been able to utilize a live interest as a point of departure for activities which in all probability would otherwise have remained outside the experience of his group. They would certainly have resisted any attempt to interest them in dramatics, health education, and handcraft just as they attempted to circumvent the Center's requirement that they hold regular business meetings. It is important to bear in mind that while Mr. C. had tentatively charted, in his own thinking, areas of activity which might be occupied, he could not entirely foresee where the developing interests would push activity. This factor of purpose developing as a "push from behind" rather

than as the striving toward definitely delineated goals, we hold to be a characteristic of real situations in personal and social life. From any complex of interests, aversions, and activities purposes emerge which tend to govern the ensuing units of experience, but each of these ensuing units produces experiences which modify the original direction of activity. The group leader who would utilize his group's readinesses for action to secure educative experience must understand the principle that group purpose evolves as specific activities are completed. It is modified by each unit of activity. It is a product of the growth process.

The Pirates' aversion to business meetings disappeared when the necessity for transacting real business arose. Their discussions of plays, admission price, properties, committees, color and style of uniform, cost, quality, eligibility for the team, and numerous other details, constituted business, although they scarcely recognized it as such. Parliamentary procedure was introduced when the need was demonstrated, but it never was developed to the point where it became an end in itself. Group discussion of race problems, health development, and education formed a large part of their group activity, with interest keen at every point. This group which was antagonistic to anything that smacked of moral education discussed without embarrassment or artificiality the ethical bearing of much of their activity. It became the custom of the boys to bring to Mr. C. clippings of the progress of his college's teams. Mr. C. capitalized their athletic interest to develop in them some understanding of college life and its opportunities. It is true that their attitude

toward college was somewhat romantic and overstressed the social and athletic aspects, but any readiness to examine college life represented an advance over their original ignorant provincialism. As a result of their talks, the majority of the boys attended basketball games at Columbia, New York University, and The College of the City of New York. The acquaintance with college equipment, the discussion of the values of college education, entrance requirements, and costs all served to broaden horizons. Not the least valuable phase of the experience was the objective demonstration on the part of the college teams that "hardness" was no necessary quality of virility and that clean, fast, intelligent play was superior to roughness in winning games.

We have no desire to represent the experience of the Pirates as ideal. Much of the activity was hit-or-miss. Parliamentary procedure never rose above a rudimentary stage. Discussion followed no approved procedure but was generally informal, discursive, and relatively unorganized. In the athletic realm and in the rehearsal for the plays it was possible to secure enough detailed practice to insure the establishment of some desirable habits. What seems to us important is that a readiness for one activity was made the occasion for introducing a wider range of experiences, which proved so satisfactory that the group would not, in the future, be satisfied with a meagre program. In the process of developing these interests the Pirates experienced the satisfaction of working together as a group and came to value the organization as a means of realizing purposes.

The method used by Mr. G., the leader of the Omega Taus, which we shall describe immediately, was substantially that followed by Mr. C. Mr. C., examining the experience of his boys to discover a realizable wish which could be made the motivation for a broad program, fastened upon their interest in basket-ball and their desire to produce a winning team, to launch a program of dramatic, discussion, handcraft, and business activities. One of the principal levers which had to be manipulated in the work of forwarding activity was the pride of boys in their team. But it was necessary to crystallize this pride in a definite objective—the securing of team uniforms. Mr. G. went somewhat outside the experience of his group for the stimulating idea which should quicken the group life of the Omega Tau Club.

Mr. G. was a graduate of an Eastern university. He was a tennis champion and moderately skilled in other athletic sports. He sketched and painted with some ability, was well read, and had travelled abroad. To him the social usages obtaining among well-to-do people of real culture were matters of habit. Because of his infectious good nature and his athletic ability, he succeeded at the first meeting in gaining the respect of the boys. But the club meetings were unsatisfactory, from his standpoint, since the boys rarely did more than discuss dues, membership, basket-ball challenges, and plans for an occasional party.

Mr. G. studied their environmental experience in the hope of discovering some on-going interest in which he would be qualified to lead and which would develop other and wider interests. He was unsuccessful.

There were interests aplenty but these were all being met by the program of the "Y." of which the boys were members, or by other groups. Furthermore, some of the interests of the boys had very definite limits and the completion of a specific activity meant the cessation for the moment of the interest in that field.

Parenthetically, nothing could be more artificial than the assumption that under any and all circumstances an interest in a definite field can be widened so as to lead to activity in related fields. It by no means follows that a group of boys desirous of playing basket-ball can be led into drama, handwork, and discussion activities. Nor is it necessarily true that a girls' club planning a party for boys can inevitably be led to discuss etiquette, love, courtship, and marriage, or to make curtains, favors, or party dresses. It may happen that the activity under way in the organization represents an interest not adequately met in other places, while the related activities are carried on in school, church, or other organizations. Should this be true, it may be difficult if not impossible for the leader to broaden the range of the group's activity. And there is a danger in the attempt to do so. The group leader must not ignore the fact that interests may be highly specialized, so that the attempt of a leader to substitute a new activity for the original leads to resentment, irritation, and sometimes to disruption of the group. Particularly is this true of older younger people and adults. Men organized as a bowling club want bowling, and women who come together for bridge, want bridge. They may respond to the suggestion that they hold an occasional dance, dinner, or theatre party; but the attempt to get

them to learn folk dancing, or to organize a cooking class, or a drama group may end in disaster.

But to return to Mr. G.: Finding no present activity of the Omega Taus which would suggest a broader program, he examined his own experience to discover if there he might not find something which had meant much to him and which by the same token might arouse the boys' interest. Finally he hit upon an idea; one night he brought his college year-book to club meeting. The boys were eager to see it and enthusiastic about it. When all had perused it and Mr. G. had pointed out the pictures of his friends and some of the outstanding athletes he casually remarked that it was a source of great satisfaction to have such a record of bygone good times. One of the boys remarked that "it would be swell" if they could have a club year-book. All agreed enthusiastically and the club was "in readiness" for a project. But it was objected that it had cost hundreds of dollars to print the University of X book and the club only had ten or twelve dollars in the treasury. Gloom settled on the group, for they were really caught by the prospect of making and owning such a book. Here the leader showed his mettle; instead of telling the boys just how to proceed in overcoming their obstacles or allowing them to drop the plan because of the difficulties he said he thought it would be entirely possible to make one club book which would be club property. It need not be printed; it might be typed or done in manuscript lettering. Instantly Nemo, who was an office boy, volunteered to do the typing. Mr. G. checked the boys a moment and suggested that they list the things which should go into

a good club book. They decided on a dedication, an historical sketch of the club, snapshots of the individual members, and thumbnail biographical sketches, club songs and cheers (they had none), an artistic and durable cover with the club insignia, stories of special club affairs, complete minutes of all meetings, photographs of officers, teams, champions, and other interesting subjects, and original poems and stories. They rejected enough material to make another volume.

Then they decided on the size of the book. They planned at first to use plain typewriter paper. Here the leader contributed of his wider experience. He suggested that they wait a week or two, until they could send a committee to the Japan Paper Company for samples of art paper. The committee reported the following week with multi-colored samples and the club went into noisy executive session to decide type and color of paper. Price had to be considered. Again Mr. G. made his contribution to the group experience. The boys were attracted to a beautiful mottled colored paper but it was expensive. The leader got a dishpan, ran into it about two inches of water, mixed a small quantity of oil paint with a little turpentine and dropped it on the surface of the water. He swirled the water and dropped flat on the surface a piece of unsized paper, removing it immediately and turning it paint side up on a table. It was beautifully mottled. The boys caught the idea and for two nights the room was a hive of activity with boys experimenting with color combinations. Finally enough paper was prepared and the problem arose of grading the colors so that there would be no wild visual clashes when the pages were

opened. A leather cover was made and open competition took place in making the cover design. Mr. G. made a frontispiece sketch and the club synthesized a dedication. To make a long story short, about half the boys wrote stories, poems, and cheers. Only about a tenth of the material was considered good enough to put in the book. Several boys made sketches and decorated the margins, three others did all the typing—and did it with great neatness. Johnny B., a boy with little leadership in the club because of lack of athletic prowess, proved to be a good photographer. He enjoyed a brief period of power while he posed and snapped the various individuals, teams, and groups. His work was excellent and the club not only met Johnny's expenses but rewarded him with social approval that meant much for the development of his self-respect. The club decided that if they were to record events they must have a season worthy of record. As a result they held several dances and parties, more carefully planned than any preceding club parties had ever been. They decorated the room afresh on each special occasion and, strange to relate, consulted *Ladies' Home Journals* and cook books for table decoration schemes and fancy refreshments. There were many profitable discussions regarding etiquette and attitudes toward girls, literature, travel, athletics, and other subjects naturally related to their undertaking. They put so much effort and planning into athletic practice that they won the club championship, a fact which they recorded with pride.

Hence out of a simple situation involving interest but almost sure to be ignored by the average leader

came a whole season of handicraft, athletic, social, discussion, and literary activities which held the boys at every point and which gave them practice in conducting social enterprises. At the same time they were experiencing an actual demonstration of the fact that almost any project is wrapped up with implications which, if developed, lead into many and diversified ventures.

The group builder will seek to help the group to face the problem squarely, analyze its factors, gather information that throws light on the problem, discover varieties of possible solutions with their probable consequences, choose the best working hypothesis, and try it out in action. The amount of source material that can be introduced, made vital, and developed into special interests is largely dependent on the leader's skill and knowledge.

When the Omega Tau club actually got under way with the club book work at least four other clubs decided to follow suit. There was an inter-stimulation and a heightened activity which affected the program of the entire group-work agency. Each club found itself desirous of producing a distinctive book which should nevertheless embody all the valuable elements of its rivals' books.

Several principles are suggested by this experience. The first is that social groups in proximity tend to imitate the activities of other similar groups when such activities promise new and satisfying experiences. The second is that in engaging in similar activities the groups tend to stimulate each other, and to modify the original activity. As a consequence of such inter-

stimulation, the bulk of program activity is greatly increased. The third principle is that, although social groups, like individuals, exhibit a desire for conformity which makes them tend to do whatever "everybody is doing," they desire so to modify the customary activity as to give a tone of distinctiveness and individuality to their behavior.

Our first principle does not imply the existence of any imitative instinct but may be explained in terms of like response to like stimuli. In fact, we might state the principle in more abstract terms. Individuals (whether alone or composing groups) subject to the same cultural influences tend to respond to like stimuli in similar ways.(1) The principles just cited suggest to the social administrator that more fruitful work can be done with groups in contact with other groups than with single, isolated groups drawing their programs from within their own experiences.

Allport has shown that within a co-acting group social facilitation takes place which results in individuals generally making better scores than when tested alone; in increasing the rapidity and quantity of work done, though the accuracy suffers somewhat.(2) It appears that what is true of individuals within a group is to a degree likewise true of groups in contact within an institution. The social administrator who wishes to take advantage of this fact will utilize the "House Council" idea, the competitive League, the Division Congress or Section Congress, the Brotherhood idea, or any one of a dozen schemes now in use in social work, for bringing groups into working relationships.(3)

SUMMARY

The educational leader locates the present interests of his group or introduces interests that can be made the center of a varied program. He introduces no program elements until there is need for them, or until interest has been aroused. He encourages activity that promotes coöperation, but that permits of individual and specialized achievement. He seeks to strengthen the members' ability to form and execute purposes. Group purposes are rarely full-grown when the group is formed. They grow from specific experiences, broadening as group activity and experience widen. The educational leader tries to bring his group into vital relations with similar groups, since contact modifies purposes, and increases and enriches program content.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN ACTION

- (1) Giddings, F. M., *STUDIES IN THE THEORY OF HUMAN SOCIETY*, New York, Macmillan Co., 1926, Chapter 9, especially pp. 164-169.
- (2) Allport, Floyd, *Op. cit.*, Chapter III, Reference No. 9.
- (3) Busch, Henry M., "Brotherhood Idea," *Union Theological Seminary Bulletin*, Appendix I, Vol. VII, No. 1, November, 1923.

CHAPTER VII

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRAM MAKING

The discussion of general principles and methods of leadership in earlier chapters may leave unanswered many questions concerning practical steps in program construction. We shall endeavor in this chapter to suggest such steps. As a preliminary consideration, leaders may well keep in mind the desire of people for enjoyment in leisure time. What constitutes enjoyable activity varies with age, experience, cultural status, intelligence, and other factors. To a large degree enjoyment will depend upon variety, new experience, and timeliness. Although people enjoy activities with which they are familiar, they soon tire of a program in which there are no new elements, or in which even the new elements are like those they have already experienced. Timeliness, which reflects current happenings, popular interests, fads, and fancies, and seasonableness, which takes into consideration the possibilities and limitations of the natural seasons, as well as the opportunities presented by holidays, should be considerations.

At the outset of assuming leadership in a group, one should seek to discover its real aims. These will not necessarily, nor even usually, be stated in the club constitution, but must be sought in the lives of the members.

Children usually define their own aims in forming a club as the desire to have fun. Adults may not be so naive but the element exists in their clubs. Children require vigorous physical activity: coöperative and competitive; individual and social. Games of the individual and team variety should be in most group-work programs, as well as individual physical exploits which challenge one to the development of skill and endurance.(1) Competitive activity appeals strongly to children and young people. Team games are popular during the 'teens and early twenties. Before the 'teens the arduous coaching and discipline necessary for successful competition by organized teams is not attractive. When higher education or vocational pursuits assume the center of interest, highly organized team activity loses much of its hold.

Older adults may enjoy team competition but in general they will prefer the informal, pick-up type of organization formed for the single occasion and disbanded at the close of the game. Certain business men's volley ball teams, it is true, furnish examples of relatively stable organizations. But most of these, in our experience, will admit newcomers and occasional players who show adeptness at the game.

Children commonly desire an element of secrecy and exclusiveness in their organizations. Rituals may be elaborated which express these desires. Ritual and secrecy in organization are found throughout the entire age range. But groups composed of older people tend to organize their secrets and their rituals in terms of social idealism or religious allegory and aspiration. The exclusiveness of children usually shuts out those

who do not live "in the block," or in the immediate residential area, or who are not in one's grade in school. Among adults, exclusiveness frequently applies to people of other races, social classes, and creeds. Practically always it rules out people of different color. The desire for exclusiveness has certain anti-social tendencies, but it must be reckoned with. The desire for ritual in terms of a code, a secret club name, and an initiation may furnish excellent program possibilities. (2)

Groups of all ages from toddlers to decrepit old folks enjoy good story-telling. Group leaders should acquaint themselves with the vast fund of story material available. If they possess no ability in this field it is well to encourage group members to develop the art of story-telling. (3) Story-telling has a special charm when done by a fire. Even the poor illusion of the artificial fire described in the Woodcraft Manual adds to the setting for story-telling. Story-telling may be an effective introduction to amateur dramatics, to the reading and writing of short stories, to the formation of book-review clubs, and to public speaking. Charades, puppets, and dramatics likewise make a wide appeal to young and old. (4)

Hikes, picnics, overnight camping, short canoe trips, and boat rides are generally popular. They not only constitute excellent programs but in preparation for them activities developing skills may be conducted. (5) The planning necessary for successful trips adds further program material of a discussion type, and furnishes an opportunity to guide group decision-making along lines educationally productive.

Trips to points of historical and civic interest may appeal to children, although adults easily overestimate the values to children of this type of activity. But children usually enjoy trips to places where things are happening, or where there is impressive machinery or equipment. Telephone exchanges, fire signal stations, police and firemen's training schools on days when drill is being conducted, steamships (including engine rooms), newspaper printing plants, certain types of manufacturing plant, farms, creameries, laboratories, theatres (back-stage), art studios, and observatories constitute points of interest. Older groups will usually be more interested in technical details and in the organization of plants than will children.

Adults, as well as children, might well be introduced to museums and art galleries. In encouraging groups to visit museums and galleries it is wise to have a specific purpose in mind, such as a visit to one set of exhibits. For example, a group of children calling their club the Seminoles might visit a museum to learn what the Seminoles really were, and how they lived. If the exhibits show the natural habitat in life-like scenes, as in the Museum of Natural History in New York and in Cleveland, the Field Museum in Chicago, and the Buffalo Museum of Natural Science, there is opportunity to broaden the interest and to initiate new projects for future programs, by calling attention to other features in the exhibit beside those which constitute the purpose of the visit.

Interests and hobbies in the arts and in natural science are enriched by visits to galleries and museums. Such interests, ranging from art metal work and

astronomy to zoölogy, are suggested by the handbooks for boys and girls issued by the national organizations to which we have referred.(6) Even the leader of adult groups would do well to consult these guides, since much of the material is suitable for non-specialists, regardless of age.

An item of general appeal to clubs, regardless of age or sex of members, is the preparation of food and the serving of refreshments. Even boys' clubs may be intrigued by a short-term project in cooking. It may be wise to start with camp cookery, but it is not difficult to lead from this into the preparation of meats, fish, and fowl, the preparation of vegetables, and baking.(7) Candy making is popular, especially when it involves pulling. The planning, preparing, and serving of "spreads" of various kinds add an element of sociability to group life.

Music, both vocal and instrumental, is usually popular, but from the program-making point of view music in which the group actively participates has special value. Group singing is especially effective, since it heightens the sense of group solidarity. The judicious use of the radio and of the phonograph by groups studying public questions, or the history, theory, and appreciation of music should be explored. Not enough imagination has been displayed in using these devices.

The general suggestions we have offered are designed to indicate types of activity that may be utilized. We should suggest that the leader, at the beginning of the club season, discuss with the group the kinds of activity they think they would like to undertake. The ideas should be recorded and a tentative outline de-

veloped. The outline may take some such form as the following:

Organization: *i.e.*, the decision as to club purpose, choice of club name, emblem, colors, slogan, password, code, initiation ritual, writing of constitution, election of officers, etc.;

Athletics: teams and informal games; some outdoor activity such as hiking, swimming, skating, baseball, football, hare-and-hounds, etc.;

Trips: to museums, factories, civic centers, etc.;

Celebration: of seasons and holidays; *e.g.*, Hallowe'en, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Lincoln's and Washington's Birthdays, St. Patrick's Day, Easter, Arbor Day, July Fourth, and special holidays of significance to racial or religious groups;

Handicraft: such as leather or metal work, needlecraft, woodwork, airplane or boat models;

Art work: such as block-printing, clay modeling, sketching, or painting;

Dramatics: possibly a few one-act plays and one full-length production; discussion of current plays, books, and happenings of local, national, and international significance;

Science: demonstrations, experiments, and reports;

Social service ventures: such as underwriting the support of a child in an institution, making up a Christmas basket, aiding an unemployed family, making or repairing toys for needy children, contributing to a labor-defense fund, furnishing leadership for a club or class, helping in a barter-ex-

change, investigation for a relief agency, helping in a community survey, discussion of social problems (*e.g.*, war, unemployment, poverty, civic corruption, race and class conflicts, bad housing, delinquency and crime);

Discussion: of personal problems (*e.g.*, religious belief, sex, love, marriage, relation to parents, vocation, education);

Theatre parties, dances, and banquets.

These constitute some of the major activities in which a club may be interested, but they by no means exhaust the possibilities. The leader should regard them as guides rather than as final commitments, even when they have been put forward by the group.

After these desires for future activity have been listed, it may be advisable next to draw up a tentative, highly flexible program for the year. There should be a balance between indoor and outdoor activity, between physical activity and discussion, and between passive participation and self-activity.

It must be borne in mind that such a program is designed for a sociable group who are drawn together primarily by friendship, rather than by a common interest in a special activity. The leader's purpose is to utilize readiness for the projection of a program which is broadly developmental, but care must be exercised not to stereotype the general form of the program. The balance suggested is a guiding principle, rather than a determining requirement.

A program drafted along these lines might look somewhat as follows:

(SAMPLE PROGRAM FOR OLDER BOYS OR GIRLS)

SEPTEMBER

1st Week	Organization or Get-Together Meeting	Games and a song Planning of tentative program (as suggested above) Election of temporary officers A story, songs, refreshments
	Special Event	A Swimming Party
2nd Week	Club Meeting	Discussion of constitution, dues, etc. Appointment of committee to draft a constitution Games of the table variety Songs
	Special Event	Hike
3rd Week	Club Meeting	Report of Constitution Committee Adoption of constitution Story Songs Games: active variety
	Special Event	Picnic
4th Week	Club Meeting	Further planning of program Definitely outlining certain events, <i>e.g.</i> , Hallowe'en party November dance Christmas party January dramatic presentations, etc. Beginning a handcraft activity, <i>e.g.</i> , leather work Refreshments
	Second Meeting	Handcraft

OCTOBER

1st Week	Club Meeting	Business session Election of permanent officers Discussion of vocations Planning for vocational tests Table games
	Second Meeting	Taking of tests, <i>e.g.</i> , Seashore Test of Musical Ability Stenquist Mechanical Assembly Test Toops Clerical Test
2nd Week	Club Meeting	Business session Address by psychologist "Discovering Your Aptitudes and Abilities" Report of results of tests (individual, confidential conferences) Songs
3rd Week	Special Event	Trip to psychological laboratory (university or vocational counselling service)
	Special Event	Week-end camping trip
4th Week	Club Meeting	Business session Test of general intelligence, <i>e.g.</i> , Ohio State University Test Story, followed by impromptu dramatization
	Second Meeting	Strong Vocational Interest Test Pressey X-O Emotional Stability Test, <i>e.g.</i> , Downey Will-Temperament

It will be noted that in the sample program we have omitted regular sessions for athletics, and have suggested a second meeting each week. Athletics have been omitted because most clubs take this type of activity for granted, and clubs can often direct their own programs, or professional directors are available. In practical work we should stress some form of physical recreation. The second meeting each week has been suggested to emphasize the fact that group work consists of more than weekly business meetings. The business session may be used to plan subsequent programs, but real activity in a variety of fields should be carried on.

We have chosen a sample program utilizing a vocational interest because it gives opportunity for addresses and discussions, trips, reading, and active participation in the testing process. The discussion of interests and the use of special questionnaires and tests to discover interests may have not only vocational value, but may also be the means of discovering the matters of vital concern upon which the whole club program may be built.

The educational method of leadership is at first admittedly more difficult than the method of following pre-arranged programs. It is no easy task to find the real interests of people and to build programs satisfying to a dozen different individuals who may display a dozen or more different types of interest. It is often easier to create enthusiasm about a plan which the leader has worked out.

There is no logical or practical necessity for relying wholly upon one method or the other. It is well for

the leader who has had little or no previous contact with a group not to rely wholly upon his ability to discover and organize the present interests of the group. He should plan in advance a half dozen active games, a few table games, a stunt or two, a story, a simple hand-craft, and a few songs which can be used until the club develops its own interests. The leader should have definite knowledge, gained from reading, conference, and from visiting other groups, concerning the things that clubs ordinarily do. He should know how a business session is conducted, and should have ideas about club names and rituals.

The leader should never enter the clubroom unprepared to make suggestions for the session's program. His suggestions, however, should not result in all the program planning devolving on him. Although there is no easy formula for discovering interests, the following suggestions may be of value.

The leader may directly question the members about the things they would like to do in the club. He may utilize interest-finders, questionnaires, and tests of social distance, of attitude, ability, aptitude, and information.(8) He may suggest ideas, noting the reactions and drawing out opinions, making sure that opinions are honestly expressed.

Stimulating speakers on timely topics often quicken an interest which can be used as the nodal point in a study or discussion program. Books, chapters, and articles, either read to the group or reported to the group may stimulate interest. One of our most successful groups was a book club in which each member reported on a book of special interest to himself. The

result was the stimulation of many of the members to types of reading which would otherwise probably not have been undertaken.

The leader may talk with members informally, outside club meetings, about their other leisure pursuits, their jobs, their ambitions, and their schooling. The leader will do well to get first-hand knowledge of the conditions under which his members live and work. Knowledge of race, religion, family, occupation, economic status, ambitions, and recreations is invaluable. Informal, friendly conversations, which avoid prying, are helpful. Contact with people when they are socially off-guard is fruitful in revealing sources of problems. The following experience illustrates how a chance happening may reveal interests and attitudes of value in program-making.

One night when we were visiting a group of young men in a settlement a detective stopped us on the stairs leading to the gymnasium. "Do you know Tony —?" he asked. We did not. The plain-clothes man proceeded to the gymnasium where the club basket-ball team was practising. After listening awhile to the boys, he strode out on the floor and seized one boy by the shoulder.

"You're Tony —," he charged. "Where do you live?"

Tony acknowledged his identity but gave a false address which the other boys heard.

"Where is your brother?"

"He's driving a taxi in Philadelphia," Tony answered.

Turning to boy after boy the detective repeated these

questions "Where does Tony —— live?" "Where is Mike ——?"

The boys all lied with spirit.

After awhile the detective left, expressing in no uncertain terms his conviction that the young men were a pack of dirty liars. The young fellows went down to the locker room, and while undressing and taking their shower baths, they expressed hatred of the police and contempt for American justice.

The leader, a high-minded idealist, the son of a distinguished educator, was shocked. He attempted to maintain that the courts were impartial, but as fate would have it, an evening newspaper was lying on the bench. A member picked it up and read the headlines aloud, "Walter —— Acquitted. Wealthy Manufacturer's Son Admits Slaying. Jury Hold Homicide Justifiable."

"Yeah, that's it," added Andy. "A rich guy can get away with murder, but if ye're a wop they hound ye for any little thing. And if they want to, they frame ye!"

The leader had to admit that the case reported in the papers appeared to have been decided upon other considerations than justice. He discovered that Mike, Tony's brother, had had to flee the district because of an unfortunate accident. A few weeks before, Mike, while walking along Houston Street, saw a man in a brand-new Buick attempting to move the car away from the curb. There was little space before and behind the car and the man at the wheel was evidently an inexperienced driver. Mike, a taxi-driver, stepped up and asked if he could help. The man gladly ac-

cepted the offer. Mike had just cleared the car ahead and had thrown the car into second gear when a pedestrian stepped from between two cars and the Buick struck him, but did not seriously injure him. Instantly the owner of the Buick cried out that Mike was attempting to steal the car. Mike escaped but was identified. A warrant was issued for his arrest, and he disappeared from the district.

Later, Mike's friends were told by the police that the case could be settled for four hundred dollars. Four or five men's clubs of the district pooled resources and gave a benefit dance. The four hundred dollars were raised and the report is that the money was paid to a police officer who retained one hundred dollars, passing on one hundred to the lawyer of the supposedly injured man. The injured man, who was a member of a ward political club, was reported to have received the balance.

Out of the experience came a year's discussion project. The leader brought a lawyer, a police officer, a professor of law, and other men to talk with the group. The young men were interested in the problems of justice but the leader learned as much about the actual workings of graft in a great city as the members did about justice. He also learned some of the reasons why these young men were convinced that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. A deeply significant fact was that the idealist coöperated in conducting the dance, the proceeds of which were used for corrupt practices. The leader decided that it would be a mistake to allow an act of simple helpfulness to turn out so badly, and that since the attempt to prove

the police guilty of corruption was hopeless, the innocent victim should be aided in a practical way.

We offer no defense of the conclusions reached; but there may have been a good outcome for the leader in the disappearance of the sharp line between virtue and vice. In any event, he won the confidence and affection of the young men and was able to help them discuss problems which were real in their lives.

The best insights, in our opinion, will not be gained as a result of artificial inquiry, but by spending plenty of time with the members, coming to know them as friends, and by sharing a wide range of experiences with them. Only as a leader invests time, interest, and effort in his group can he hope to gain an understanding of the lives of the members which will make him effective in opening up richer experiences for them.

The formulation of a program and the actual discussion of interests involves a process of group thinking concerning which we may raise certain considerations and offer certain suggestions. We shall not discuss in detail the theory or practice of group thinking, for there is a considerable literature on this topic.(9) We are here concerned only with those considerations which apply primarily to the planning and conduct of group-work programs.

The planning and carrying out of a group-work program which utilizes the interests of the members depends for its success, not only upon the leader's skill in discovering real interests, but upon his ability to bring about such adjustment and reconciliation of individual interests and attitudes that a common program can enlist the enthusiasm of all.

The process of group thinking may be rudimentary or refined, fragmentary or complete, unconscious or specifically recognized as a special technique. The effectiveness of group action does not necessarily depend upon the perfection of a consciously recognized technique of group thinking. It may rest upon adjustments of member to member, and of members to situations, arrived at through trial-and-error processes. Such an habitual adjustment may be supplemented by a special technique, such as committee work or parliamentary procedure. In every group, regardless of type, which has carried on programs of activity over a long period of time, there is a process in operation for effecting decisions, other than the theoretical process of parliamentary procedure, committee work, or free or organized discussion. This process takes account of social pressures and of leadership and followership, implicit or explicit. It is a complex of verbalism and gesture, of intellect and emotion, of the conflict of unprejudiced facts and prudential considerations. If this be true, the attempt to carry over a rationalized outline of how we think as individuals to the group situation may lead us astray. As a matter of fact, the generally accepted outline of how the individual thinks is probably an oversimplification in that it ignores the emotional and prudential considerations which work so swiftly and so below the surface as to be practically intuitive.

A stenographic record of what goes on within a group facing a decision may in no way adequately reveal the process by which decisions are made. A descriptive analysis of actions as well as verbal con-

tributions would aid in understanding the process, but even this would fall short of giving an adequate picture, for social status and social pressure exist in a group. Although these may never become overtly revealed they still affect decisions. If in a wide variety of groups an observer whose presence were unknown to the group could take a photographic-sound record of a meeting, by means of a machine completely concealed, we might begin to accumulate actual knowledge of the process at which we are hinting. We should then discover that many decisions are really reached because of the shrug of the shoulders, or the raising of the eyebrows, or a frown, or a smile, or the meaningful silence of an influential member. We should recognize that the between-meetings status of members is likely to be of equal importance with the situation within the meeting. Here it is that dominance and submission play real parts.

The leader, no matter how alert, is unlikely to catch the full interplay of forces within the group. In fact, his presence in the group changes the situation and sets in motion complex sets of modifying forces. It was, doubtless, a recognition of this fact that led E. C. Lindeman to state that in conducting a study of a group only a participant-observer could hope to discover the real situation in the group.(10) The leader who has contact with the between-meetings activities of the group members will be better equipped to understand and deal with problems of status and emotion, which determine, as much as objective discussion, what happens in a group.

It is important, then, for the leader to know who

are the real powers in the group. He should know how they exercise their control; whether by intelligence, physical force, ability to dispense favors, or because of popularity. He should not assume that those who offer the most suggestions, or even the best suggestions, determine policy. He should watch during discussions for deprecatory gestures which may kill a proposal before it has been fairly considered. He might invite the person making these gestures to express his feelings and the reasons for his opposition. This should not be done in too challenging a manner, for to drive out into open antagonism a powerful leader of the group may wreck the organization. Finesse is an invaluable aid in group work.

It is often advisable to spend time outside of meeting in friendly cultivation of the real leaders of the group. If the formal leader can learn what the natural leaders desire to achieve in the group, he can often point out ways of achieving their ends which lead to fine group activity. He may be able in group meeting quietly to drop a hint which will stimulate an idea which one of the leaders recognizes as his own.

If an unpopular member makes a suggestion which is likely to be rejected regardless of its merits, the leader may occasionally be able to show that it is consistent with another suggestion made by a popular member. After the idea has been accepted, the leader may then indicate the credit due to the unpopular member, but he should not force the point. He may achieve more by waiting until after the meeting to encourage the member, and to point out ways of undermining the prejudices against him. Special prejudices should be

avoided; or, if this seems unwise, they should be circumvented, rather than deliberately attacked.

An example of the circumventing of prejudice was seen in a neighborhood of Czechs and Magyars who strongly objected to anything having to do with military procedure. There was antagonism to two national organizations which used uniforms and a form of drill. Yet the outdoor program of these organizations appealed to the boys and girls of the neighborhood. Some of them requested a group-work agency to organize local units of the movements. The agency encountered a storm of protest and no amount of explanation of the purposes of the organizations could down the protest "We don't want our children to be soldiers. We came to this country to get away from militarism." The parents and those children who objected were then asked if they objected to camping, woodcraft, first aid, and nature study. They asserted hearty approval of these, and it was these activities that the other members desired. No more was said of the national organizations, but the leaders quietly utilized the handbooks for program suggestions and in conference with the members developed a satisfactory program, based upon a democratic, parliamentary organization.

It is not always possible to reconcile apparently hostile positions, but one should not assume irreconcilability at the outset. The leader should approach with questions such as these:

"What values does this group seek to achieve?"

"What do they fear?"

"What are they trying to protect?"

He should try to get the group to answer such questions. If he helps the members to discover that basically they all have the same values, he may help them work out a program which is not a compromise but an integration.

Integration is often readily achieved when people do not conflict about rightness or wrongness, but when they merely have divergent ideas about good programs. The conflict arises because of the belief that if one activity is chosen another will be crowded out for lack of time. In one group of older girls there appeared to be no interests common to all, save the interest in boys. Some girls wanted tap dancing, some discussion, some social dancing, some cooking, some dressmaking and millinery, and some a course in etiquette. The leader of the group invited the girls to her rooms one Sunday afternoon for tea. Her quarters were inexpensively but attractively furnished. One of the girls in a burst of frankness exclaimed,

"Gee, Miss —, this is a ducky place, but why don't you get married? You could, I bet."

The other girls disapproved of this outburst but the leader seemed quite unoffended. She knew the question had been in their minds. She answered,

"I haven't married because I haven't met the right man."

Then followed a discussion of what kind of man is the right kind; what is love; how much money a couple should have; and the advantages of freedom over marriage. This last topic was introduced by a girl of marriageable age, who said,

"You have everything; looks, friends, a good job, a

steady income, a cozy place, and freedom. Why exchange those for a husband?"

During the afternoon's discussion, the girls expressed dissatisfaction with the young men they knew. They all had movie ideas about marrying out of their class. But the leader pointed out gently that they themselves had neither the graciousness nor the intellectual achievements to justify their condemnation of boys of their class, nor to warrant the hope that they would ever attract men of a more cultured type. After the girls had criticized the boys freely, the hostess suggested that they try to get the boys' view of the situation. She said that the boys might be quite as critical of the girls. She had some reason to think they were.

As a result of a long afternoon's confidential chat it was decided to work out a program based on a "charm school" idea. The girls were to give occasional parties and dances for the boys, and they were to make these as socially correct as they could achieve without artificiality. The project included practice in social dancing, correct dress and make-up, elimination of gaudy slang, toning down of familiarity, and cultivation of certain graces necessary for a hostess. The girls made curtains and block prints for their club room, and some of them refurnished their own rooms at home. Cooking and baking instruction was secured. The materials prepared were used for practice teas and dinners. Attention was paid to correct table usage. Some of the girls decided to make articles of clothing. Style, color, and price were all studied. Finally, since the leader had suggested that people whose conversation was interesting had ideas, it was decided to read

certain things together, to read other books independently, but to talk them over, and to go occasionally to a good play, movie, lecture, or concert.

The group met more frequently in the leader's home and a relationship of confidence and affection developed. The leader had, in the meanwhile, been discussing similar problems with the young men. She found them as dissatisfied with cheapness as were the girls. With the aid of a man volunteer in the settlement she was able to help the boys to work out their part of the program.

A series of dances, parties, picnics, discussions and other activities broke down the barrier of unacknowledged hostility which had existed between the young men and women. Better relations developed, and through the sharing of enjoyable experiences both groups developed finer appreciations and practices. Six years have elapsed since the first Sunday afternoon tea in the leader's home. Those years have been filled with a great range of activity. Certain special interest groups have from time to time been created to meet demand. But the general interest in social conversation, in books, plays, concerts, and in co-ed activities has continued. Their most cherished activity is a co-ed study and discussion group which meets on alternate Sunday evenings. This has so stimulated the group that the members are fully informed on the best books, plays, current happenings, and social problems. There is not a graduate of a day session of college in the group, but for general educational awareness this group compares favorably with most people who have taken a bachelor's degree.

In closing this chapter we would point out that a leader may prepare his program by following the directions of a national organization as contained in handbooks or bulletins from headquarters. He may work out his own program, based upon his experience of group work and his own interests and abilities. He may attempt to secure from the group their ideas and to guide them in the formulation and conduct of a program. Or, he may plan a series of provisional programs which utilize all the information he can secure from any sources whatever, with the purpose of using these programs only when nothing better originates with the club. But as soon as promising group interests arise he utilizes these as the bases of new programs. We commend this fourth plan as practical and educationally promising.

SUMMARY

In helping a group plan its program, the leader should help it explore its own aims. He should keep in mind the universal desire for enjoyment in leisure time. Most groups can secure enjoyment from games, stories, charades, drama, music, parties, refreshments, talks, trips, picnics, and handcrafts. The program should strive to balance active and passive elements, indoor and outdoor activities, and familiar and new features. Seasonableness and timeliness should be observed.

Educational leadership depends upon the discovery, stimulation, and utilization of interests. The leader, however, should be prepared for each session with games, songs, stories, discussion material, and other program ideas, while he is endeavoring to find natural interests and

to base programs upon such interests. He may utilize, in locating interests, direct questioning and discussion, interest feelers, tests, check lists, and questionnaires. He may suggest ideas or bring in a speaker who will stimulate new ideas. The leader should study the backgrounds of the members and become acquainted with the homes and neighborhoods from which they come. Only as he comes to know something of their daily lives, by sharing a range of experience with them outside of agency contacts, can he discover issues of real concern. This calls for time, effort, and a genuine interest in people.

The leader should be acquainted with the literature bearing on the process of group thinking. But he should guard against conducting his group sessions as though only the intellect were concerned. He must recognize emotional factors and attempt to adjust these. Some adjustments can only be effected in outside contacts. He must work with the natural leaders in the group. He must not cause them to "lose face" with their fellows. He must protect those who would be hurt by the group but should beware of arousing prejudice when he seeks to overcome it. He must dig around prejudice, rather than batter it down. Above all he should seek to help a group gain the ability to analyze values and to integrate divergent elements into a group program.

CHAPTER VII

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRAM MAKING

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CHAPTER VIII

ORGANIZATION

A fallacy frequently encountered in the field of group work grows out of the theory that there is one fundamentally sound basis upon which all types of groups should be organized. It shall be our thesis that the form an organization assumes should be suited to the peculiar purposes which are to be realized by the group. If this be so, it will be profitable for us to examine briefly the chief types of organization utilized in group work with a view to discovering their origins, forms, purposes, and effectiveness.

In the early days of the social settlement movement, the mass club was the popular type of organization and indeed at the present time in the British settlements this is the case. By mass club we mean a group that in size has passed beyond the point where intimate face-to-face relations between each member and all his fellows is possible. Obviously, no arbitrary numerical limits may be set as defining the mass club, but in general groups of from fifty to five hundred or more come under this classification.

Such social groups within the church as the Christian Endeavor Society, Baptist Young People's Union, Epworth League, Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Men's Club, and the large Men's Bible Class tend to be mass groups. Lodges, unions, professional societies, large

Scout troops, chapters of De Molay, Hi-Y, and Girl Reserve groups partially fit this category.

The mass club characteristically carries on at least one major activity in which the total membership acts in the same way. This common activity may be a ritual or class function. Where the aim of the leader is teaching, the mass group commonly commends itself as the most economical way in which to reach the largest possible number. The proponents of the mass club also point out that it promotes democracy by discouraging cliques which separate small groups of people from other people, and by bringing together a diversity of people who share experiences and stimulate one another to new lines of thinking.

However, in the field of organization it is necessary to recognize the fact that though democracy may be the aim of group work, eternal vigilance is necessary in any type of organization to insure its continued functioning with democratic results. Within the mass group, inner groups or cliques commonly form for the purpose of securing control, prestige, or privilege.

The growing recognition that the process of educational development takes place through the activity of the individual has served to call into question the mass club as an effective educational instrument. If each individual brings to any situation a body of experience different from that of any other individual, resulting in unique readinesses and peculiar prejudices, the mass group which utilizes the same materials for large numbers of individuals assumes, among those individuals, too great a degree of likeness. (1)

Group workers learned by experience, sometimes

bitter, that there are certain types of situation into which the mass club does not fit. Many individuals can find no satisfactory adjustment within the framework of the larger group. These demand a type of organization predominantly "sociable" in character, with not too many members and with a flexible program. Settlement and community workers saw the strength of the natural gang, in contrast with their own artificially synthesized groups, and the movement toward the utilization of small groups was launched. Of course social agencies had always done small group work, but eventually a definite philosophy of small group work emerged.(2)

The new stream of thought takes two directions. One philosophy holds that the strategy of group work lies in capturing natural groups and redirecting their interests and activities. Sociologists teach that one's standards, ideals, or attitudes are the products of the group of which one happens to be a member.(3) Anthropologists support this teaching by showing that what is proper at one time or in one place might be improper at another time or in another place.(4) Psychologists hold that character is the resultant interpenetration of habits and attitudes which are socially conditioned,(5) while mental hygienists point out that the emotional adjustment of an individual can only take place within a group in which he can secure status and approval.(6) It appears to follow that if group-work leaders desire to change and develop character in the individual, the effective way is to capture and control the group most influential in giving or withholding the social approval that he values. Since this

group is the group of natural, leisure-time companions; or, among children, the gang,(7) the logical conclusion is that the gang be made the basis of organization.(8)

There are those group workers who recognize the theoretical basis of small-group work, yet attempt to break up the gang, and to place the members of any one gang in several different clubs, either small or large. They charge that the gang is usually anti-social. Its leadership frequently is secured on the basis of physical strength or by a type of shrewd ability to direct in unlawful activities. The gang easily becomes the tool of politicians and works directly against the realization of democracy. It tends to become ingrown and its program consequently suffers from lack of constructive imagination and new ideas. It is cliquish, preventing adjustment to any larger group than that created by propinquity. Thus it retards social development.

The issue is not merely one drawn between the mass club and the small club, but is complicated by the question whether the basis of organization of the small club should be the residential propinquity of the members.

That propinquity is the most common factor in the formation of natural play groups probably no qualified student of city life would deny. We have found upon analyzing the membership records of over two hundred clubs of boys under fourteen years of age that in practically every case the membership is recruited from a district with a radius of less than a quarter of a mile. Observation reveals that the composition of the play group or gang of children under ten years of age,

in a city like New York, is almost invariably limited to those who reside in the same block; indeed in a long "crosstown" block membership in the group is likely to be limited to those who reside within five or six houses of one another, there being as many as four distinct gangs within a three hundred-foot block. As the individuals grow older, the territory from which members of the gang may be drawn increases in area. But it is still true that in the simple face-to-face social group the members are ordinarily drawn from a limited neighborhood of two or three blocks, even in groups averaging sixteen years. Many exceptions to this rule will be found, but analysis will generally show that in former years the group members all resided in the same limited area.(9) The Young Stars present a typical case: their membership consisted of twenty boys averaging nineteen years of age. They had a permanent club room in an East Harlem settlement. This room they furnished with special lighting fixtures, banners, victrola, piano, comfortable chairs, and a table with magazines. A membership analysis would have revealed in 1926 only two boys living within one hundred feet of the settlement, only five living within a radius of one block, six living in the Bronx, four living on Long Island, and the rest scattered between 105th Street and the Harlem River. But six years prior they had all lived within two hundred feet of the settlement, had played together as a street gang, and had applied to the Settlement in a body for membership as a club.

Though it is generally true that children form face-to-face groups on the basis of propinquity of the mem-

bers, this principle must not be taken as typical of all groups. We shall note some exceptions, and shall point out its inapplicability to the formation of interest groups in a later section. At this point, however, we must emphasize the fact that, although the gang basis accepts the accidental association of individuals as the potent factor making for like-mindedness in the group, this homogeneity or congeniality of members is a fact with which the group worker must reckon. He may deplore the fact that such a basis of organization almost precludes that contact of richly diversified personality types which makes for stimulation, enrichment of experience, and growth. Nevertheless, he will hesitate to break up the group, but will rather seek to utilize it as the starting point. His task will be five-fold: to attempt to capitalize legitimate present gang interests for the development of a wider educational program; to introduce, after careful study of the experiences and readiesses of the membership, such new activities as will be acceptable and will enrich experience; to recruit from his group for special interest groups, those who show aptitudes in such fields as music, handicraft, and drama; to attempt gradually to secure the admission of new members who represent congenial, but different personality types; to relate his group, through competition and coöperation with other groups, to the wider program of the institution or community movements.

Miss Helen Hart has cited a long list of evils in small club organization and has suggested as an alternative a plan which was formerly in operation at East Side House, New York, and is now in use at Kingsley

House, Pittsburgh.(10) Under this plan there are large clubs for each age grouping. As a person acquires house membership he is automatically made a member of a club. There is enough flexibility in the assignments so that the individual becomes a member of the group most likely to afford him stimulating companionship. Each club has from thirty to fifty members and is under the direction of a skilled group worker assisted by volunteers. These volunteers are responsible for becoming acquainted with the homes of the members, thus preserving the intimate touch likely to be missing in mass work. Miss Hart feels that these assistants can more easily become intimate with the members when some one else is carrying the responsibility for planning and conducting the meeting. The general club meeting is devoted to informal contacts, business, and group recreation. Class work, such as gymnasium, hand-work, literary work, music, and dramatics, is organized upon the same age basis, but is held on different days, under specialists who may or may not be assistants in the club meeting. In this way a member may come six days a week if he finds activities that interest him. By encouraging rotation of offices and by frequent elections the attempt is made to maintain interest in the large clubs. By frequent promotions from one age grouping to the next higher the members are put into situations calling for new adjustments.*

*It is of interest to note that Miss Hart has recently re-instated the small natural group basis for some clubs. She is performing a genuine service to the field of group work by keeping adequate comparative records of the stability, activity, and membership participation of both types of group.

We have experimented with a similar plan and have found that it has its merits. It does provide an opportunity for an individual who is as yet unattached to any group to make social contacts, but our criticism has been that the type of social life afforded is artificial. Within the groups, nuclei of cronies form and, if the social agency does not give them opportunities for carrying on their activities, they will organize their own group outside of its walls. As this group grows stronger the appeal of the general social activities of the mass club weakens and eventually membership in it is dropped.

Our plan of large-group organization as originally worked out at East Side Y. M. C. A., New York, consists of a federation of two or more independent, self-governing clubs of boys of about the same age, having certain interests in common.(11) This federation seeks to draw these independent clubs together through coöperative enterprises, such as the conduct of athletic tournaments, adjustments in schedule regarding the use of institutional equipment, promotion of mass meetings, fairs, circuses, dances, and parties, and the handling of disciplinary matters. Through such coöperation it establishes a sense of loyalty to the institution with which the clubs are affiliated, a tolerance of other clubs, and a recognition of the fact that clubs working in harmony with other clubs develop a wider outlook and a more vital program than clubs whose interests are centered in themselves. The federation develops self-government on an ever-increasing scale, giving to its members as much responsibility for the conduct of the institution as they are ready to assume.

The organization consists of the Federation or Council proper, and the Executive Committee or Congress. Ordinarily two officers, the president and the secretary-treasurer, or other responsible officer of each club, are members of the executive committee. Thus a federation composed of four clubs would have an executive committee of eight members. The executive committee meets as often as necessary, usually once a week, and discusses all matters relating to all the clubs. It acts as a steering committee for the federation. The actions of the executive committee are referred to the individual clubs for ratification in their private club meetings or to the body of the federation in the assembly or large group meeting. If the executive committee action is not ratified by the clubs or by a majority of the federation, it is not valid.

Under the federation plan intra-mural athletics, in which each club in the organization competes against every other club, reach a high development; and the interest of the individual member in his club is maintained. At the same time, by using the entire federation as a pool of available material and the executive committee as the sponsor, teams representing the institution are organized for competition with other institutions and the loyalty of the members is directed toward the institution as well as toward the club.

It is common experience that club programs often suffer because of the numerical smallness of the group, and because of the paucity of talent. Through the federation, in which the component clubs meet together frequently, it is possible to develop worthwhile programs by the use of movies and stereopticon lectures,

the cost of which would be prohibitive for the individual clubs, or by the securing of speakers who will address large groups, but who could not be secured for small groups. In like manner banquets, athletic rallies, "bean suppers," parties, and dances can be promoted, which liven the institution's program as well as the club's program and prevent the interest of the club from becoming ingrown.

Inter-club dramatic competition and inter-club debates may be stimulated and, as in athletics, the federation may be used as a pool from which is secured material for a successful dramatic society representing the entire organization. Educational hobby interests likewise find encouragement through the federation. From a group of three or four clubs a half dozen boys may be found who are interested in radio, wood-working, music, or art work; and their special interests may be fostered by hobby clubs sponsored by the federation.

It has been found advisable to have assemblies of the entire federation frequently. Some institutions hold these rallies weekly. At the rally the executive committee makes its reports and action may be taken on the matters it proposes, or deferred for the individual club meetings which follow the rally or assembly. Following the business session comes the formal program, which may consist of a lecture, a movie, a play presented by one of the clubs or the federation dramatic society, music by the federation orchestra or jazz band, singing by the entire group, occasional challenge games of the type used by the Woodcraft League, or a story told by a club leader or a qualified boy.

For those who may wish to experiment with this type of organization it is well to bear in mind a few cautions: Ordinarily the assembly should not take more than forty minutes and should be followed by the meetings of the individual clubs. These meetings consume the remainder of the time. On special occasions the executive committee may arrange programs for the federation which take the entire evening, but these should not occur too frequently. It is a mistake to push the federation idea at the expense of the individual clubs. The federation should not be regarded as existing for the sake of organization, nor should the attempt be made to set it up in its entirety at the outset. It is better to start with an informal gathering of club representatives to settle a point at issue, such as a conflict in schedule in the use of institutional facilities, or to make plans for the conduct of an athletic tournament involving all the clubs which it is hoped will be in the proposed federation. As the group finds it has functions and that the clubs they represent have real interests in common that can be better served by this type of coöperation than by leaving matters exclusively in the hands of the paid workers, the scope of activity may be enlarged and the temporary committee may be replaced by the permanent executive committee. In other words, start with a function and elaborate the structure of the organization as necessity demands. Don't start with a perfect structure and expect to develop functions for it. The organizer of the federation must take care not to include at first gangs or clubs that are deeply hostile to each other in their daily contacts. Another caution that should be observed applies

to the matter of age grouping. The federation experiment can be quickly wrecked by bad age grouping. It is better to organize several federations allowing a range in age in each of about two years, than to attempt to include clubs whose members vary in age by three or four years. Among senior clubs differences in age are usually not significant, provided the minimum age is set high enough.

How important is the factor of homogeneity or like-mindedness in a group? The answer depends upon the purposes of the group. If groups are to carry on a program of diversified activity, there must be a diversity of talent in the membership. To this extent homogeneity is undesirable. But in order to preserve group consciousness and vitality there must be sufficient homogeneity based on similarity of social background and hence congeniality of tastes to enable the members to feel that they are "birds of a feather." (12) The factor of social homogeneity assumes great importance chiefly with groups that are distinctively "social," recreational, or of the community-organization type. Social homogeneity is decreasingly important as the interest of the member is transferred from contact with other personalities to participation in a specialized activity.

At various times we organized orchestras of older boys and young men in a group-work agency in New York. Most of the orchestra members came to the first meetings as strangers. They represented widely diverse social groups, scattered over the entire area of the city. About half of the members were Jews, about one-fifth were of German, about one-eighth of Italian,

and the rest of Hungarian, Czech, or British descent. Jews, Roman Catholics, Protestants, and persons professing no religious faith were included in the membership. At first the individuals showed little or no interest in the personalities of the other members. Some rivalries developed at once over musical skill and places of importance in the orchestra, but these never developed to a stage where disruption of the organization was threatened. The chief interest was music and so long as the orchestra furnished opportunities for musical production and some instruction the members were satisfied. Quite naturally the members became acquainted with one another in the course of time, but although some friendships were developed the orchestra never became primarily a "sociable" group. Yet it functioned to the satisfaction of its members. If the charge be made that as group workers we neglected an opportunity to utilize the orchestra to promote socialization, we should have to acknowledge the force of the criticism. Our point is not that interest groups cannot be transformed into "sociable" groups, but that interest groups may succeed as such if the activity be satisfactorily directed.

There is, however, always the danger of losing the shy individual from a group formed on a basis of special interests. The leader of such a group must know how to prevent the embarrassment of the reticent individual, even though no definite attempt be made to promote sociability. In such cases giving the shy member something to do may be far more effective in setting him at ease than introducing him to the other members. Men and women alone in public places such

as restaurants and waiting rooms often take refuge in newspapers or magazines, not for the profitable utilization of time, but so that one who would otherwise appear to be embarrassed may appear at ease. Who has not observed the lone individual in a restaurant who, having failed to provide himself with reading matter, explores one pocket after another until he finds a letter or a bit of printed matter in which he takes refuge? A little later we shall see how, in a specific instance in an athletic club hot-room, the newspaper device is utilized by new members to help them in the early stages of the new social adjustment. In the group formed on a special-interest basis the best adjustment of the shy individual will usually be achieved through his functioning in a way necessary to the group's success and through recognition of his value by the other members. (13)

We have indicated that there are definite limitations to the principle that the natural gang constitutes the nucleus around which group organizations should be developed. We know from actual experience that individuals as individuals join organizations for special purposes. The Christian and Hebrew associations and similar organizations, the City Clubs, luncheon clubs, athletic clubs, fraternal, and benefit orders rely almost entirely for membership upon the applications of individuals. It is true that many of these organizations require that the candidate be proposed by an active member, but in organizations like the Christian and Hebrew associations, no such requirement commonly obtains. In many instances boys and girls join Scout troops, Camp Fire groups, and

Woodcraft bands without having had previous intimate social contacts with the members.

We note that all of these organizations possess a certain wide-spread prestige, carry on a distinctive type of activity, but are not limited to a single distinctive activity; and that the distinctive activity provides the opportunity for making social contacts. In the common pursuit of the program, personal ties are established; groups within the group develop. These organizations include large numbers who have well-established social ties in outside groups and who use their membership to secure a particular advantage. For example, a young matron whose time is largely taken up with the affairs of a bridge club and a local chapter of an alumnae association may come into town two or three days a week to attend a Y. W. C. A. folk-dancing class and to use the swimming pool. A business man may be a daily attendant at the five o'clock "Business Men's Gym Class" at the Y. M. C. A. and still feel no need of having other social privileges extended through the agency of the Y. M. C. A. Or he may join a City Club or a Chamber of Commerce with little or no interest in the membership or program, but solely for the purpose of securing dining privileges in a place where he can entertain luncheon guests with dignity and grace. Indeed, the attempt of organizations to promote interest in activities beyond the scope of those for which the member joined is a source of constant irritation to many people.

But such organizations also attract large numbers of people who have not succeeded in establishing close ties in other social groups. The newcomer and the

transient in a community, the shy person who failed in childhood to establish skill in making social contacts, and the person who for some reason lost out in previously established group relationships, all find in such organizations as these we have just described opportunities to engage in activities which require no previous acquaintanceship with the other participants, but which nevertheless do provide the opportunity for tentative friendly approaches to others.

We have recently been observing this process in a Business Men's Club. Within the club membership are many little groups of cronies. These tend to be friendly to other people encountered in the locker room, but their hand-ball games and their table groups in the dining room are rather exclusive. Only when an expected member of a foursome fails to appear is an "outsider" invited to play. Should he prove to be a good player and a "good fellow" he may find himself gradually drawn into a group. But as a rule the new member utilizes the steam-room, hot-room, and shower facilities as an individual without undue embarrassment. These unacquainted individuals invariably provide themselves with newspapers to be read during the thirty or forty minutes of the face-to-face relationship of the small hot-room. As suggested above, the newspaper serves an emotional purpose: it acts as a shield to cover social insecurity. If the newcomer can appear interested in the paper it becomes unnecessary for him to attempt the social pleasantries and small talk which otherwise appear to be the only alternative to staring dumbly at one's fellow-members on the opposite bench. This is borne out by the readiness with which the news-

reading newcomer responds to a question or comment about the news, gradually being drawn into a conversation. Likewise we observe that if a general conversation develops in the hot-room, in many instances the individual who is apparently engrossed in the paper makes a tentative remark or two, becoming a genuine participant in the discussion if his tentative contributions have been well received. Through these informal conversations he eventually develops acquaintanceship with other members of the organization and his enjoyment of the use of the club facilities is greatly enhanced. The sense of embarrassment in the type of situation mentioned is so great in some individuals that they will not at first utilize the facilities of an organization like the Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. unless accompanied by a friend. To illustrate the process: we introduced a friend into the membership of an athletic organization. At first the friend would not use his privileges unless accompanied by us. A regular schedule of appointments was agreed upon and substantially kept. But as the first year wore on the increasing pressure of other engagements made it difficult for us to meet at the club and swim together. Our friend's attendance dropped off somewhat, but not markedly. After a summer during which we both were out of the city we are again utilizing our memberships, but in the past four months not once have we used the privilege together, although our other social contacts with each other have increased in number. Our friend has now made his own adjustment to that particular social situation and our function as an emotional prop has been fulfilled.

There is still another set of factors in organization to be considered. We have said that normal social groups of the recreational type originate, at least in part, on the basis of propinquity; also that special interest groups originate without regard to this factor or the factor of homogeneity; and that comparatively homogeneous groups may develop within the framework of a larger group which carries prestige, uses ritual, and provides a variety of activities of a general social nature. Even those who come as individuals to centers like the Y. M. C. A. for special privileges, such as the gymnasium, swimming pool, club rooms, and game rooms, and who for some time remain unassimilated in the membership may gradually become assimilated into face-to-face groups. If a sufficient variety of activity is carried on in the agency in which they can be participants without being conscious of non-membership in an intimate group, gradually personal ties are developed with other individuals, groups are formed, programs are developed, and a new type of homogeneity begins to come into existence. Our own experience provides many illustrations of this type of organization. We could cite no fewer than a dozen groups organized more or less artificially, in that the members as individuals joined the Y. M. C. A. for privileges, but became interested in intimate social organizations, which have continued to exercise influence after fifteen or twenty years.

A notable example is that of the Amicus Club, which is composed of about forty young men ranging in age from thirty to forty. About twenty years ago the oldest of these men were members of the Boys' Divi-

sion of the West Side Y. M. C. A., 318 West 57th Street, New York City. All of them had joined the Y as individuals and in most cases they were unacquainted with other members before joining. The activities of West Side Branch were so organized that a boy who had no friends in the organization could nevertheless take part in the program without the feeling of not belonging to the intimate group. In the first place the gymnastic drill was an "impersonal activity" in which a boy participated almost without relation to the other boys in the class. Then the group games following the drill were organized and conducted by the physical director so that every boy could participate, regardless of his skill or lack of skill and regardless of his acquaintanceship or lack of it. Pick-up teams were chosen for organized games and again a new member could be appointed to a team which remained in existence for just one gym period. Then came the swim; here, too, was an activity in which an individual could engage without a feeling of intruding in the life of an intimate group. During all these activities contacts were being made and the first tentative relationships of friendship established. It was easier then for the new member to find at least one other boy with whom he could play pool or chess or checkers. It was also possible for him to attend the group meetings where illustrated talks, singing, and Woodcraft Council formed the basis of the program. Invariably, after a few weeks friendships developed and opportunities arose to join the smaller clubs or to form new clubs. The members of the Amicus group belonged to about six different clubs in the Y. But as these clubs com-

peted in athletics and came into contact through other activity, newer and more congenial relationships developed and special groups of twos, threes, and fours were formed. Then came the camp and here throughout the summer the work of assimilation to the Boys' Division membership was completed. Throughout the four or five years of membership in the Y, because of the fact that the organization offered a variety of challenging opportunities for boy activity most of the members found their older and more fortuitous neighborhood "gang" ties weakening and the Y bonds strengthening. Then when the time arrived to leave the Boys' Division came the realization that here were one's real friends; here was one's social life, and with this realization developed the determination not to leave it all behind. As a result the Amicus Club developed some twenty years ago, and into its ranks were drawn year after year a few of the boys who had risen to prominence in the affairs of the Boys' Division and were ready for graduation. The club is almost entirely social. Its outstanding affair of the year is the annual banquet at which time many of the fathers are present. Between stated social events the members visit one another, go to theatres together, and in general carry on the type of social intercourse characteristic of any group of intimate friends. As a parallel organization, the Amity Club was formed. The Amity Club consists of about forty young men and women who carry on a well-rounded program of social, educational, religious and recreational activity. Many of the men are Amicus members. As such, they had formed friendships with sisters and brothers of Amicus Club mem-

bers, but since the purpose of the Amicus Club was that of a male alumni association, it did not seem fitting to admit to membership those who had not shared experiences in West Side Y. The Amity Club, as an unofficial outgrowth of the Amicus Club, meets a distinct need. It has throughout fifteen years maintained its vigor and it has, in turn, given rise to other organizations.

We have described the origin and characteristics of the Amicus Club at length because its origin illustrates a process easily lost sight of in the present-day reaction against artificial groups. It is true settlement workers and others too often attempt to build small clubs of the face-to-face variety by putting together those who do not know each other or who are antagonistic to each other. Such artificial groups have little chance of success. As a result of empiric experience and to some extent as a result of the writings of Puffer and others, leaders are learning to utilize natural gang groups. The extent to which the emphasis on the natural grouping has permeated the thinking of even such national movements as the Boy Scouts and Y. M. C. A. is seen in such publications as *The Patrol Idea*, *Group Leaders and Boy Character*, and *The Theory and Practice of Group Work*.⁽¹⁴⁾ The patrol idea is in brief the utilization of small, natural groups of four to eight boys each, as the patrols of the Scout troop. *Group Leaders and Boy Character* and *The Theory and Practice of Group Work* likewise urge the Y to take advantage of a boy's natural loyalties by transforming gangs into clubs. The emphasis was needed, but recently there has developed in some quarters the

conviction that only through the natural grouping can social group work be accomplished. Every Masonic lodge, every college class and fraternity, every labor union, and every church provides evidence that members may come into the fellowship as strangers, later developing deep and lasting relationships with the organization.

It is interesting in social work as in the wider social life of a community to observe the swing of the pendulum from one extreme of theory to another, both as to organization and program. We have pointed out that the earlier approach to group organization both for adults and children was of the large group or mass type. Then came a reaction in favor of the small, homogeneous group. This reaction seemed to be wholesome; for small group work makes possible the development of close relationships between the leader and the members, it develops a highly personal type of organization, giving the individual a poise in social contacts most necessary in complex modern life, and it makes possible the capitalizing of interests and projects already existent in the group's consciousness, as the starting point for program development. Such an approach to program is psychologically sound, since it finds the group in readiness for activity, gives them practice in making plans, possesses the drive of interest, and follows in its development the natural process of problem solving. The truth does not necessarily lie between these extremes. Rather, we would suggest, each form of organization serves a distinct need. There may be as great danger in attempting to make all organization conform to the neighborhood group

pattern as there was in the exclusive use of the mass group pattern.

There is some truth in the charge that homogeneous clubs tend to become ingrown, tend to respond to the dominance of a boss, and tend to carry on limited activities. But as was pointed out, the remedy probably lies in a regime which brings clubs into contact, coöperative and competitive, with other clubs, not by destroying the natural social unit.

In general it seems safe to say that organization on the basis of residential propinquity is characteristic of children's groups and groups of people geographically isolated, economically handicapped, culturally undifferentiated, or socially retarded. As children grow older, particularly as they leave the narrow limits of their community to attend high school or to enter occupational life, the ties of the primary groups tend to grow weaker. Indeed, many social workers feel that one index of arrested development is found in the fact that a young man seeks in his gang the whole round of social satisfactions. They believe that the normal older boy, while he may retain some of the ties with his childhood gang, will develop wider interests in community activities. The neighborhood boy who goes to high school will find new challenges to social development in his class organization and in teams, hobby clubs, editorial boards, and fraternities. If he be a person of wide interests and possessed of the gift of social adjustability, he may belong to a half dozen organizations at a given time. We have asked six groups of graduate students to list as accurately as they could recall, the number of different organized groups of

which they were voluntarily a part, during the senior year of high school. Recognizing that the memory is an uncertain guide, we find it nevertheless significant that among ninety students the average number of organizations to which an individual belonged at one period of time was given as eleven. It is worth bearing in mind that the number of extra-curricular activities in high schools and the number of leisure-time movements for children and young people have greatly increased in the decade during which these students have been out of high school.

Recently, it has been the popular doctrine in group work to recommend as the basis of social and community organization the primary group, meaning by the term the individuals in close residential contiguity. In support of the theory the sociologically trained group worker usually emphasizes the power of the primary group in controlling individual experience and personality development, but it is noteworthy that this power of the primary group diminishes as we pass from isolated primitive society to complex metropolitan life.(15) No one has more succinctly or adequately pointed this out than Professor Giddings in his chapter on "The Group-making Role of Ideas and Beliefs."(16)

As we observe modern metropolitan life, no fact of social organization seems more patent than that the group relations of the individual are numerous, varied, and relatively transitory.(17) The simple all-inclusive group that meets every need of the individual is almost non-existent in the large city. And the attempt artificially to create social units which shall be all-sufficient

for the many-sided needs and interests of people runs counter to some of the strongest trends of the time. It is the failure to recognize this fact and the consequent attempt of the group worker to put all the social eggs in one organizational basket which accounts for much of the inability of the social agency to compete successfully with commercialized recreation for the time and interest of the adult city dweller. With increased urbanization there is an increase in what we have designated as the "cafeteria plan" of living. In relatively simple communities one works, worships, loves, and plays with the members of a limited, homogeneous group. But the growth of cities brings about a new situation. The daily journey to and from work brings one into contact with a cosmopolitan crowd. The daily experience of an environment unlike that of one's residential district means the development of new adjustments resulting in changed valuations. The intimate contacts with fellow-workers who reveal, even in the trivial commonplaces of small talk, ways of living and standards of judgment unlike one's own, result in a questioning of the unique validity of one's code. As has been previously pointed out, if some recreations afforded by modern life conflict with inherited standards, the anonymity of the city permits the individual to enjoy these pleasures, whereas such indulgence in the local community brings censure. Many a young person whose primary group frowns upon dancing, theatre attendance, and card-playing is nevertheless enjoying all of these pleasures in another part of the city without loss of prestige at home because his activities are undetected. Rapid transit, low-priced amusements

and educational activities; and the fact that in normal economic periods more people than ever before have a financial margin above the amount needed for bare necessities, all contribute to the situation rapidly becoming characteristic of cities, in which the individual has a variety of ways of spending his leisure time and is a participant in a number of group activities.

The cafeteria type of life is one of make-and-break contacts. On Sunday one may attend morning service in order to hear a popular preacher. In the afternoon a bus ride and a stroll may seem desirable. In the evening a movie may be enjoyed. On Monday evening one may hear a popular visiting lecturer on psychology; on Tuesday the office bowling team may be competing in a city-wide league; on Wednesday "the old crowd" may hold its regular club meeting, with a basketball game and a swim following. Thursday may be reserved for dancing at a "closed" hall where for a dollar one purchases twelve dance tickets, each good for one dance. Female partners who really can dance are absolutely guaranteed, even to the awkward or unprepossessing male, since each of the dozen tickets is composed of an "entrance check" to the floor and a stub which the girl collects. Her earnings depend on gathering in as many stubs as she can in an evening so one does not find dance hall "instructresses" and "hostesses" particularly exacting in the demands they make of their partners. On Friday night the city dweller may meet with his weekly poker or bridge crowd; on Saturday he may go again to the movies or vaudeville, and so the week has gone. The one note of unreality for most wage-earners in such a schedule as that de-

scribed is the presence of so many activities requiring the expenditure of money. But if we substitute for some of these, other activities which groups carry on without expense we come close to describing the round of life for large numbers of urban people. What is important for us is that in many of these activities one makes no contacts resulting in the establishment of close personal ties with others. A need or a desire, possibly no deeper than a whim, makes itself known and the modern metropolite seeks the particular establishment or group which can satisfy his desires, paying in money or participation as one pays for the articles selected from a cafeteria counter. Furthermore, as in the cafeteria situation, the customer may feel no desire for a specific article of food, being forced to a choice among dishes merely because the habitual meal hour has arrived, so in the modern leisure-time situation, a vague, generalized desire to "do something to kill time" may animate the city dweller to make a choice among the manifold attractions offered. Certainly, it seems obvious that a considerable portion of any Saturday night crowd, whether it be on Broadway, State Street, or Euclid Avenue, has no definite goal, but is just out for a good time and is concentrated in the locality where recreational opportunities are offered in abundance. This fact has led some amusement promoters to feel that within certain limits the establishment of rival enterprises in the immediate vicinity offers no real threat to business, but rather increases the chances of the mediocre establishment surviving, through capturing the overflow from the more popular and overcrowded houses. The theatres supplement one another,

each being responsible in the long run for a marginal share of the others' box office receipts.

We have said that a characteristic of the cafeteria type of life is that it consists chiefly of make-and-break contacts. It follows that under such circumstances crowds rather than real groups are formed. The individual in such aggregations as are found in movie theatres, dance halls, and restaurants develops only a rudimentary sense of loyalty toward the institution providing the activity. He may possess a habit of attendance; but if the "house" consistently puts on a series of productions for even a short time which the patron considers inferior, or if he tires of the food or the particular type of dance music offered, even though the quality has not deteriorated, he easily transfers his patronage elsewhere. What little annoyance is felt is due to the interference with a comfortable habit and is almost immediately forgotten when new and satisfactory places are discovered.

The factors which operate to draw people to theatres and other centers of commercialized recreation may also be found at work in churches, lodges, and adult education centers. There are, for example, about a dozen "Men's Bible Classes" in or near New York, ranging in size from 100 to 800 "members." These organizations make much talk of brotherhood, but the real interest in every case is a leader of the silver-tongued type who popularizes (and sometimes vulgarizes) science and religion. The crowd, diversified in the extreme, turns out to hear him and, though it is true that they engage in "heavy-handshaking," the social ties are extremely tenuous, being stimulated by rollick-

ing, lusty singing, and "he-man" talk. Such groups can be readily mobilized by appeals to emotion through ritual, music, and oratory, but they are relatively unstable, breaking up when the star performer leaves, unless a new leader of power appears.

We have considered chiefly commercialized ways of spending leisure time. It is likewise true that the typical non-commercialized contacts of the sophisticated modern are of the cafeteria type. He is a member of many groups. His family group enlists many of his emotions and interests, but he by no means limits his activities to its scope. His business organization commands his time and his trade association offers him certain opportunities to function. He may habitually lunch with three or four cronies, but on Friday he lunches with Rotary. At four o'clock daily he plays handball with three other business men, none of whom is in his luncheon group. As a member of the church in a suburban area he is associated weekly with a group of several hundred, most of whom he knows slightly. As a member of the board of deacons he has more intimate contact with a dozen of the men of the church. In the Men's Club he meets fifty or sixty more, some of whom are not church members or attendants. And then there is the political party, the fraternal organization, the college alumni association, the tax-payers' committee, the Parent-Teacher Association, the bridge club, and so on down to the little coterie of daily commuters on the 8:17 and the slightly different group on the 5:15. Which group is most important to him? Who can tell? How he feels about each, what time he will give, and what sacrifices he will make for any

one of these groups depend upon how well it meets his needs. Obviously, the attempt to organize such a man's time through the instrumentality of a single group is foredoomed to failure.

But the objection is sometimes raised that the type of person described is found only among the privileged and intellectual classes. The tendency of social workers and intellectuals in general to think of other people as essentially different from themselves is responsible for some of their ineptitude in community relationships. What is overlooked is that the activities of the ordinary man and woman may differ from those of the intellectual to some extent both in quality and quantity, but the trend is in the direction of increased numbers of group relationships with decreased intensity of personal attachment to each group. The high-school student with his ten or twelve extra-curricular activities is a product of his times, reflecting this universal urban trend. (18)

Those who deplore the break-down of the so-called primary groups are wont to do so because of the loss of what they consider moral values. To repeat their argument as set forth in a previous section, they point out that the standards, attitudes, and practices of a person originate through the conditioning process exerted by such primary groups as the family, the neighboring group, the church, and the school. As the individual is kept in contact with these groups they exert upon him a restraining influence, holding him to actions which elicit their approval. It is further pointed out that in so far as the ideals of these groups are harmonious, conformity with them results in the produc-

tion of a person of unified character and integrity. In this they are correct. Added to these factors is the important truth that, since group approval is such a powerful force in controlling the conduct of the individual, the effective place at which to begin work in improving standards is with the group of which the individual is a member. The failure of much moral teaching of individuals in Sunday schools, churches, schools, clubs, and Scout troops lies in the fact that the individual, moved by a new ethical impulse, leaves the group in which the urge was generated, and forthwith finds himself in another group who have no sympathy with his newly-kindled aspiration, since they have not shared in the original experience which brought it into being. Ridicule, indifference, or hostility chills the ardor; and old habit-patterns acceptable to one's companions initiate familiar and comfortable activity.

But if the new standard can be developed and accepted with enthusiasm by the group who must carry it out the chances of initiating changed conduct, never an easy thing to achieve, are infinitely improved. Herein lies the strength of considering ethical values, not as abstract ideas, but in relation to everyday action. The attempt of the Roosevelt administration to bring about fair competition and ethical practice by encouraging the codification of fair practices by the trade associations, whose members must live by the codes, has social and psychological validity. In terms of group-work organization, if a Sunday-school class is a club and a team, or if a Scout troop is also a daily play group, or if the school class contains units of those who are in intimate daily association, ideas which win

approval in discussion have a good chance of being incorporated in action, provided in the discussion specific ways of acting have been considered and understood. It must not be assumed, however, that even in such groups as described above, mere repetition of an ideal and seeming acceptance of it will insure action in conformity with the ideal.

We recall at this point the Scout troop which met as a Sunday-school class in a suburban church in New Jersey. These boys constituted a homogeneous school, church, Scout, and play unit. One day in the absence of the Scout-master we substituted as leader. We asked the boys what they liked about scouting and what things they could now do which they had learned through the passing of Scout tests. They named as popular activities fire-building, cooking, tracking, Scout-pace and knot-tying, commenting, quite wisely, that they could do all those things well because they played in the woods almost daily and could see some use for these activities. Then one bright youngster, with a twinkle in his eye, added "And we can scale walls. We learned that in troop meeting and, believe me, we use it. There's a football field about a mile from here and every Saturday afternoon we go up and scale the fence. It costs seventy-five cents to go through the gate, so we're in that much." "What Scout law does that come under?" we asked, thinking, of course, of the moralistic aspect of the principle, "A Scout is trustworthy; honest." Whereupon, to the great glee of the crowd, he answered, in an instant, "A Scout is thrifty!"

Quite different was the case of a group of older high-school boys who met one Sunday morning in a New

York church above 72d Street. They represented middle class "Nordic" American families. The leader of the class decided to ignore the lesson material scheduled for the day and opened the session about as follows:

"Well, that was a fine slugging match you fellows put on last night. I thought I was going to see some basketball, but Eddie decided differently."

Eddie, the captain of the team, all of whose members were present, rose in righteous self-defense.

"Do you expect us to play basketball with a bunch of ginnies (Italians) like that crowd? We had to play rough. They started it and they'd have thought we were afraid of them, if we hadn't given them better than they sent."

The leader disagreed:

"I think we were as guilty as they, so far as roughness is concerned. It seemed to me that the first time the forward bumped you it was purely accidental. But you slammed him deliberately. Honestly, Eddie, didn't you do that because you didn't want him to think you were afraid?"

"Sure," answered Eddie, "but those guys are dangerous. All ginnies are. Once they put something over on you, you're done. But if you show fight from the beginning they'll back down."

The subsequent discussion proved that the boys were not enjoying basketball competition, since they were playing to win at all costs, rather than for the fun of the game. They claimed that their ideals of sportsmanship were higher than those of most of the teams with which they competed, but that a code generally accepted

among boys demanded courage, even at the expense of sportsmanship. The leader passed over the modest claims that they were in every way better than the downtown teams they had met, but pointed out that usually the better people in any community valued their own standards sufficiently to hold to them.

"You fellows claim," he said, "that roughness and slugging represent the other fellows' standards and you say that you are better than they. Yet you accept a lower standard when you slug. In other words, regardless of who wins the game, you've lost, since they've set the standard and you've sacrificed your ideal of sportsmanship."

"But we can't let them think we're afraid," the boys protested.

This issue was thrashed out, with the result that the boys agreed not to retaliate with roughness if the other team became rough; but if an individual proved guilty of deliberate slugging to warn him that he would have to fight after the game if he continued in his manner of play. The game at all hazards was to be kept on a basis of skill, and teams that insisted upon "roughing it up" were not to be given return dates. We make no defense of the boys' decision to fight; but we do know that during the remainder of the year these boys played basketball according to standards prevailing among sportsmen. The determined threat to "settle things after the game" in one or two instances served to preserve self-respect and to discourage roughness in an opposing player. Two things emerged: Eddie, who was really hot-headed, profited by the effort to restrain himself; and the boys discovered that they won

more games when they used their brains than they did when they relied upon brawn. From week to week during the Sunday morning session the leader held discussions of ethical problems connected with their daily group experience. Among other things, the boys examined the sources of their prejudices against Italian and Jewish teams from "downtown." They discovered that some of their objections were probably valid, but that environmental conditions in the overcrowded slum sections and lack of opportunities might reasonably account for some of the objectionable traits. Many of their views were pure prejudice and as such were acknowledged. All through the year the results of the discussions were interpreted in terms of group action, and group opinion supported the boy who attempted to put the decisions into action. We shall revert to this matter later, when we discuss ethical development through group activity. We are here concerned chiefly with emphasizing that moral values which originate in and are supported by primary group opinion are capable of translation into action in commonplace situations under favorable conditions of organization.

It is necessary, however, to point out that the task of social and educational work is to set up a system of recreation so that every group and every activity entered into by the individual shall give support to high standards of action. For although the younger, the more socially retarded, and the more isolated will find their chief sources of group activity in primary groups, the trend of the majority of people is in the direction of membership in a multiplicity of groups, of make-and-break social contacts, and of cafeteria choosing of

leisure-time activities to be engaged in alone or with one other person, more than likely a member of the opposite sex.

Despite the possible loss through the lessening of moral control by the intimate group there would seem to be some definite gains from the new situation. The increased contact of individuals with people of different types leads to a decline in prejudice and the development of a broader outlook on life.(19) The hold of authoritarian institutions is weakened in a cosmopolis and a greater willingness to entertain new ideas exists. Mental agility is developed, as Dr. Otto Klineberg has shown, even though the average of intelligence may be no higher in the city than in rural districts.(20) Inventiveness appears with greater frequency among city dwellers than among rural peoples, quite probably because of the cross-fertilization of ideas(21) that is an everyday element in the city life.(22)

Because of these facts it is necessary to voice a warning against the growing tendency on the part of Scout officials, religious education experts, and schoolmen to attempt to circumscribe the experiences of growing boys and girls by setting up one all-inclusive organization within which the child shall function as a social being. There would seem to be a greater danger to the community in having the churches capture the leisure time of children than organizations like the Scouts or the school, since the latter include diverse racial and religious types. The contact of individuals with those whose cultural heritage differs from their own is necessary if we hope to develop people who are rich in experience, tolerant in attitude, and original in

thought. Some churches and other agencies will insist upon attempting to control as much spare-time activity of young people as possible, because of the powerful influence of the all-inclusive group in sanctioning individual action. They are confident of the breadth of their own outlook and claim that under their ægis daily experiences involving tolerance or its opposite will be interpreted in terms of high ethical action. It is true that from the institutional standpoint the church or other agency would doubtless gain the loyal adherence to its membership and its point of view through such group organization; but if the agency is genuinely interested in serving society as well as maintaining its own life it will do well to safeguard the broad development of its members by bearing in mind the danger described. It will recognize that the mere meeting of the individual with members only of his own set tends so to habituate him to one type of character, action, and outlook, that other types, being unfamiliar, may seem less worthy. It will further recognize the fact that the loftiness of its aims and the ideality of its teaching will not insure a transfer of such principles to everyday life unless the leaders of the groups are conscious of the aim of interpreting ethical principles and are examining daily experience with a view to transforming it. It will recognize that a peculiarly subtle danger threatens the efficacy of the work of any agency which is the proponent of spiritual values, if such values are not translated into action, in that ritual tends to be substitutionary for consciously directed activity, giving the glow of righteous satisfaction that should result from ethical living. (23)

Two experiences may help to illustrate the fact that the ethical ideas inculcated by the church and other agencies may be assented to, but not embodied in action. A group of fourteen-year-old boys in a Methodist church in New York were organized as a club, Sunday-school class, and basketball team. They met together for activities not less than four times a week and often they spent all day on Saturdays and holidays together on hikes. Throughout their whole Sunday-school careers these boys had been taught forbearance, kindness, tolerance, and fair play. But they had almost no intimate contacts with boys of other racial or religious groups. It is true that such boys were encountered in the public schools, but such contacts were superficial and did not serve to promote understanding. One night the club team played a basketball team of Italian boys from an East Harlem neighborhood center. Beaten in a fair game, the church boys slipped out of the building early and prepared a supply of snowballs soaked in water and frozen. As the Italians emerged from the building they were bombarded with ice balls from every direction and most of the boys were painfully hurt. Outnumbered, ambushed, and conscious of being in hostile territory, the Italians could only flee for safety. It so happened that on the following Sunday morning the Sunday-school lesson dealt with the story of Saul and David. The boys gave evidence of knowing the story and one recited with approval how David one night stole into the tent of Saul, resisting the temptation to kill Saul as he slept, despite the fact that Saul had on many occasions sought David's life. The boys all approved

David's "sportsmanship." The leader questioned carefully, but could find no recognition on the part of the boys that they had had any opportunities to exhibit the sportsmanship of which they talked so enthusiastically. The leader then told the story of a group of boys who had invited a team of Italian boys into a district where the Italians were outnumbered and after a fair game in which the Italians were victorious the losers ambushed them and attacked them, inflicting pain on those who were unable to get away. The reddening faces of the class showed that they were getting the point.

"Now, what do you think of those fellows; were they sportsmen?" Mr. H. asked.

There was a deep silence and one boy finally spoke up as follows: "I think that was a rotten trick and we were poor sports."

There was no disagreement. Mr. H. inquired:

"What should we do about it?"

After much discussion it was agreed to write a letter of apology to the other club, inviting them again to play on the church's court so as to give Mr. H.'s club a chance to show that they were not "muckers," as one of the boys called them. The Italian boys were loath to accept, but negotiation between Mr. P., their leader, and Mr. H. finally brought about the second game. This time, after the game, Mr. H.'s club invited their opponents downstairs to the club room. The room had been decorated for the party, and after the playing of games and a few special stunts and a brief address by the club president the entire group sat down at an attractively prepared table and refreshments were

served. It would be difficult to say which group enjoyed the party more. At the close of the evening the Italian boys invited Mr. H.'s club over to their neighborhood house for a third game to break the tie. The boys accepted, but for a week were decidedly uneasy about venturing into the East Harlem district. They expected retaliation for their original attack. "Italians never forget and never forgive. They always get even," they told each other. But to their immense relief they were well treated and had as good a time at the neighborhood house as their opponents had had at the church on the occasion of the second game. We have pointed out how Mr. H. handled the situation, since his method indicates a valid way of securing a transfer from abstract idealism to life situations, but our original interest in this situation arose from the fact that despite apparently whole-hearted acceptance of a standard, ethical action in harmony with that standard did not automatically result.

In one of the best residential sections of New York is a progressive church under the leadership of a minister and director of religious education who regard themselves as unusually alert to capitalize the ordinary experiences of their constituency for the realization in action of spiritual ideals. Their whole organization, for children and young people especially, functions on the basis of week-day social and athletic groups which meet on Sundays as classes for religious instruction. Several of the group leaders are graduate students specializing in theology or education and are paid by the church for their services. One night we took a friend who was interested in character education to visit the

X club, composed of high-school boys of sixteen and seventeen years of age. The leader of the club was one of the finest leaders we had seen that year and we thought we should surely see a club functioning ideally. It so happened that our friend is a rabbi, serving a council of Jewish temples, as advisor in religious education. However, there was nothing in his name or appearance to indicate to an uncritical observer his membership in a non-Christian group. He was cordially greeted by the boys and we all played pool and other games for about a half hour. Then the business meeting was called to order. The club was planning a dinner for the following week. In discussing the menu one boy suggested ham sandwiches, whereupon another boy facetiously remarked "Oi, oi, if it's hem sendvitches, I strike." The rest considered this as uproariously funny and suggested that Bob, obviously of Scotch descent, could have "gefilter fish and smoked herring." Our friend's eyes twinkled and he nudged us ever so slightly. The fooling died down and the business was disposed of. Then came a discussion period in which the boys talked intelligently and with genuine interest about choosing an occupation and getting an education. At about ten the meeting adjourned. We had had two hours or more of enjoyable and profitable activity together. After the boys had left Mr. S., the leader of the X club, went home with us. We had an hour's trip during which we discussed the club. Mr. S. said the mid-week programs were no problem but the Sunday programs were.

"The boys are fed up on Bible study and to save my life I can't see any more ethical problems emerging

from their club experience. We thrashed out the question of sex education, war, honesty in school and business, and fair play in athletics," he said. "I don't see what's next."

"Why not tackle the question of race and religious prejudice?" we suggested.

Mr. S. answered, "Oh, that's no problem. Those boys are tolerant."

"We thought the 'hem-sendvitch-gefilter fish' incident might indicate a feeling of disrespect for Jews," we replied.

Mr. S. hadn't particularly noticed the incident, but now recalled it. We said:

"Bill, if you had been a Jewish rabbi, as is Mr. P., you'd have thought it significant."

Mr. S.'s confusion was great, for he had known Mr. P. slightly, for about six months, and had always assumed him to be a Gentile. The outcome was that Mr. S., on the following Sunday morning, starting with the episode recorded discussed the problem of cultural prejudice. He found prejudice deep-seated and the boys ready to talk. It was finally suggested by a boy, after much challenging of statements as to what Jews were really like, what they believed and what practices they carried on, that they invite some one who could give authoritative information to meet with them. Mr. P. gladly agreed to go back. Again the boys were delighted to see him, though they were somewhat nonplussed to discover that he was a rabbi. Mr. P. met with the group for three sessions and a feeling of genuine liking between them developed. Again, we would point out the educational method

used in developing an element in daily experience, but would emphasize that even in a liberal church, with a progressive policy and trained leadership, there was no automatic carryover to daily life of sympathy, tolerance, and respect from the abstract principles preached and supposedly accepted. Furthermore, the very success of the church in centering a great deal of the activity of the boys in a group of like-minded people quite possibly cut them off from extra-curricular school activities that would have necessitated social relationship with non-Protestant boys, with the attendant opportunities to develop understanding and tolerance.

SUMMARY

There is no one form of organization which best serves all groups. The form of organization should be suited to the purposes and needs of the particular group. Group workers formerly favored the mass club, which carries on at least one major function in which all members act in a similar manner. This function may be a ritual or a class activity. The mass activity is economical for instructional purposes and where there is a shortage of leadership. It gives a sense of belonging to a powerful group. It is believed by some to discourage cliquishness. It attempts to widen contacts beyond the provincial range of the gang, thus fostering social development.

A successful modification of the mass club form is seen in Miss Hart's plan of one large club of thirty to fifty members for each age group. The club is under a skilled leader assisted by volunteers. Volunteers visit the homes of the members, and also assist in conducting smaller groups for special activities which are held on different days. Men's Bible Classes, Y. M. C. A. gym

classes and other activities, Rotary Clubs, Masons, De Molay, alumni associations, labor unions, etc., all successfully utilize mass organization. But note: within these mass groups smaller, intimate sub-groups exist. These sub-groups may come into existence as individuals discover congenial companionship, or they may have been already in existence, formed by little cliques who joined the organization in groups.

The brotherhood or federation plan secures certain mass-club advantages by federating for special purposes smaller natural groupings. It reverses Miss Hart's process: instead of forming small groups from the larger group, the federation is formed by the coöperation of small groups already in existence. It serves many of the same ends and like her organization, depends for success largely on good age-grouping and lively, vital programs. After adulthood is reached close age-grouping is not so important.

The mass club does not insure sociability, nor social adjustment, though it may be easier to place a newcomer in such a group than in a closely knit "sociable" group. In either case the leader should try to help the newcomer find something to do which has value to the club. The adjusting of individuals in small clubs or mass clubs depends upon the establishment of emotional ties with members of sub-groups.

The mass club may develop smaller social units; the intimate group may widen its range. Special-interest groups may become "sociable"; "sociable" groups may develop into special-interest organizations.

Metropolitan life is characterized by multiple, and varied, simultaneous membership in "sociable" and special-interest groups, but likewise favors the mass or "general-membership" type of organization. Such organizations widen social experience, decrease prejudice and provin-

cialism, and contribute to flexibility of thought. They are likely to contain diversified types, hence to afford a rich diversity of programs.

The small group has risen in favor in group work, especially for children and young people. It has special value for clubs carrying on a rounded program, since it exercises strong influence on individual standards. Codes accepted by face-to-face groups of intimates and given the sanction of group approval carry over largely into individual action. Group approval likewise contributes a positive element of encouragement for the development of the individual personality. The sense of belonging, of status, in a group, aids self-assurance. Natural groups already have interests and activities under way. They have internal organization. They are, therefore, in readiness for programs and can plan and execute with satisfaction which encourages further activity. Small, intimate groups formed principally on the basis of residential propinquity are prevalent among children. Hence, many group-work authorities favor capturing such groups, redirecting their energies, and expanding their membership and interests. The Boys' Club Federation, the Boy Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., and the settlements accept this point of view.

Each individual in a group has a unique background of experience, unique capacities, and his own special interests. The mass program may demand more likeness in preparation and readiness than actually exists. Since educational development takes place through activity of the individual, the small club that makes possible personal attention and individualized work may better serve the cause of developing personality.

Residential propinquity and social homogeneity are important factors in groups formed by children, by people geographically isolated, economically handicapped, and socially retarded.

In working with the natural or gang group the leader's task is five-fold: to capitalize legitimate present gang interests which can be led into wider areas of activity; to introduce, after careful study of the experiences of the members, new activities which promise success; to recruit from his group for special interest groups, those who show special aptitudes; to secure the admission of new members who represent congenial but different personality types; to relate his group, through competition and coöperation with other groups, to wider programs.

As people mature, residential propinquity and cultural homogeneity play less important parts in social groupings. Specialized interests and multiple organizations increase in influence. The general forces of community life then play increasingly important parts in influencing character. Hence group workers must coöperate in community efforts to improve community life, especially to set up complete systems of recreation, commercial and non-commercial, public and private, that maintain high standards.

CHAPTER VIII ORGANIZATION

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CHAPTER IX

GROUP WORK AND CHARACTER

Advocates of group work for children and young people make the claim that their programs of activity produce "character" in the participants. In many cases the term is used as a rhetorical tag, without any attempt to define it. It is an effective means of enlisting sentiment and financial support and if it fulfills these purposes it seems to the users not to require further scrutiny. In few cases have scientific tests been applied to discover the extent to which group programs have been effective in influencing the growth of character. What tentative attempts have been made to explore this field have not produced much substantiation of the claims that desirable character outcomes invariably attend participation in group activity.(1) They have, however, pretty thoroughly indicated that participation in group-work programs alone will not inevitably develop socially acceptable character. If character of a type desired by community standards is to be developed through group work, it will be necessary to control conditions of group activity in accord with a hypothesis based on tested principles. Hit-or-miss methods and sporadic contacts of the agency with the individual may have some effect; no experience is without results in personal reaction. But the development of character involves the acquisition of learned behavior or habits. To achieve consciously set ends

will require careful attention to the conditions of learning.(2)

Before continuing our discussion of how character may be developed through group work, let us clarify our use of the term. By character we mean that total integration of behavior traits and attitudes which results in an abiding disposition or tendency in an individual to act consistently, *i.e.*, relatively predictably, in similar situations. Character, under this interpretation, may be good or bad, strong or weak. What Professor Kilpatrick calls "The abiding tendency between the acts to act again" is a deposit of habits resulting in trends or directions of behavior.(3) In this discussion we are chiefly concerned with the development of ethical character. Whatever ethical connotations are put upon character are determined by the social standards extant in the given community. Ethical character, then, is the persistent tendency of the individual to act acceptably in situations involving discriminations of good and bad, right and wrong. To be acceptable, the action under consideration must be in keeping with the recognized moral tradition of the community.

This view of ethical character, while sociologically sound, does not quite satisfy us; for it limits right and wrong to the standards of the community. It should be emphasized, moreover, that ethical behavior is not of the nature of a fixed, almost automatic response to a situation, but is characterized by attitudes of discrimination.(4)

There are no moral standards which are universally accepted by all peoples and at all times. Whether there

are universal rights and wrongs which should hold for all times and under all circumstances is no part of our present discussion, but such monistic, universal principles have never been discovered in the moral codes of the peoples of the earth by sociologists, anthropologists, or students of the history of ethical theory. Acts that have been considered right by a group often come later to be considered wrong. Acts that were considered wrong sometimes gain moral sanction. Acts considered immoral by one group may be judged perfectly moral by a group of neighboring contemporaries.

The conscience, which is the subjective mechanism blending emotional and intellectual factors by which ethical evaluations are made, is then no adequate guide to the broadest type of ethical action, since it is rooted originally in the approvals and disapprovals of a limited community. Conscience as certainly sanctions acts of sacral harlotry as it does religious sexual asceticism. It as thoroughly approves the action of a primitive girl in selling her favors to men before her marriage so that she may bring to her prospective bridegroom a fitting equipment of household goods as it does premarital chastity enjoined upon the girls of so many religious and culture groups throughout the world. Conscience sanctions acts as widely divergent as absolute non-resistance to evil, killing to avenge a murder, killing at the behest of the state in war-time, and killing in order to display a human head as the symbol of one's bravery and prowess.(5)

Conscience as a guide to ethical action will need to be sensitized and educated if action in accordance with a code broader than the code of a limited community is

to be secured. In our judgment a code so limited is not adequate to help man to attain the finest type of ethical action that can be envisaged. Communal codes contain so much of taboo, prejudice, and unexamined tradition that little refinement and adjustment to changing needs goes on, generation after generation. Ethical codes that rise above provincialism can only come into existence when individuals select from all the available experience of mankind, or devise as new means, types of action whose consequences promise to enrich life for the greatest number of people. This development of a sense of moral harmony with a group wider than one's immediate community may be transmitted by teaching, or it may result from traveling, reading, or from cosmopolitan contacts in a metropolitan community. To achieve it one must feel himself related in things of the moral realm to the great spirits of other lands and distant times. If pacifism, for example, be a type of ethical philosophy higher than current accepted patriotism, an individual would be unlikely in any large organized state or community to find his sources of inspiration and approval among his fellow citizens. Rather, would he have to look for his intellectual and spiritual support to the writings and influence of a comparatively small number of men and women scattered throughout the entire world and some of them removed from him by time as well as spatial distance.

It is our conviction that this eclectic type of character would not seek after rigid, pre-determined principles by which to judge actions, but would seek to evaluate specific actions in terms of their probable con-

sequences. We grant that this method of judging depends upon a presupposition, but it differs from traditional types of ethical criticism in that it does not pre-judge social issues but permits of facing each unique situation in its setting. It makes possible growth in morals, adjusting actions to the needs of the times. It would be fantastic to think that effective morality could ever be achieved by people who had no basic predispositions toward action in typical situations. The role of habit training in character is to establish such dispositions, but the deep problem of character is the establishment of balance between habit and new activity originating from evaluative choice.

Ethical character such as we have described might be rooted in and motivated by traditional religion or it might be independent of what is usually thought of as religion.

Ordinarily it is not the business of group work to deal with religion, as commonly understood. There are group-work agencies under the auspices of denominational bodies, and these agencies often attempt to carry on programs of week-day religious education. But in the main, group-work agencies are secular, confining any discussion or effort in the field of religious education strictly to the greatest common denominators of divergent groups.

Nevertheless, because an avowed aim of the group-work agency is the development of ethical character and because of an assumption held by large numbers of people that character cannot be developed save as an outcome of specific religious instruction, we are obligated to examine certain major concepts in this field.

Of the making of definitions of religion there is no end, and we shall attempt to deal with only two major types: first, the type of outlook which views religion in terms of mystical content; secondly, the view which regards religion as significant, not because of the content of belief, but because of the psychological characteristics or behavior attributes of its adherents.

Frazer in *The Golden Bough* sets forth the first view when he says "By religion, then, I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. Thus defined, religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them." (6) This view defines what is meant by religion as applied to orthodox Judaism and Mohammedanism, Roman and Greek Catholicism, to the fundamentalist wing in Protestantism, and in fact even to most of the reform movements within these great religions.

The second view is held by a growing group of people who think of religion in some such way as does Coe, when he proposes that "we think of religion as an immanent movement within our valuations, a movement that does not terminate in any single set of thought contents or in any set of particular values." (7) This view of religion as the supreme unifying element in terms of which all else is evaluated may be predominantly individual or it may have wide social acceptance. It may or may not be bound up with supernatural views and sanctions. It is that set of values around which an individual builds his life scheme and for

which he will make his great and persistent sacrifices. Clearly, such a definition of religion would regard devotion to social welfare as a religious motivation, whether that devotion be expressed through social work, or through a radical scheme of social reconstruction such as communism.(8) Eclectic ethical character utilizing social instrumentalism as its canon of criticism would, under this view, be considered religious. Although such a definition of religion may be confusing to those who habitually think of religion as based upon theology, it aids us in understanding the motivation of many who follow unpopular causes with devotion and self-sacrifice.

Those who hold that present-day morals are breaking down because religion is disintegrating invariably use the term religion to conform to Frazer's definition. To the extent that morals have been based upon certain types of supernatural religion is there a danger of rapid disintegration, for there is everywhere evident a disappearance of much of supernaturalism in what Mr. Lippmann calls "the acids of modernity."(9) But these facts do not in any degree establish the contention that moral character can be based only upon supernatural sanctions.

There are certain main characteristics of current orthodoxy which come into conflict with major emphases in modern life. It would seem to follow that morality which is based on supernaturalism might topple if the foundations of orthodoxy are undermined. The first factor which appears to be undergoing attack is the conception of God as the omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent deity who "snapped the stars from

His finger tips," who brought the earth into being and established its natural laws, who created man in his own image, but who, when occasion demanded, suspended natural law on behalf of righteous men, causing the sun to stand still, axe-heads to float, the sea to divide, fire to descend from heaven, the dead to be raised, and many other wondrous works to be wrought, too numerous to mention. He it was who gave the moral law to Moses and the prophets, who might punish breakers of the law with present punishments if he saw fit to make an example, but who surely visits eternal destruction upon those who disobey. The moral law is not to be questioned because God himself validated it. If much of the law is of such a nature as to call for constant self-denial, inhibition, and repression, this all gives point to the doctrine that spiritual dynamic is necessary if man is to lead a moral life. This dynamic, of course, has to come from sources outside of and superior to man. Man himself is a poor wretch whose righteousness is as filthy rags before God. He cannot possibly of himself rise to spirituality because "the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit, neither can he, for they are spiritually discerned." This view has been seriously weakened by modern thought.

A second factor common to many orthodoxies is the philosophical view which separates the real from the ideal, the natural from the spiritual, and the mind from the body. The mind is set above the body, the ideal above the real, and the spiritual above the natural. The higher cannot be attained through the lower but only through a special mode. With Aristotle this mode was knowing, contemplation. In an earlier view the highest

good was not a life of dynamic moral quality which looked on the world as capable of infinite betterment through the utilization of the findings of experimentation, but was regarded as union with the absolute, passivity, or contemplation, which does not seek for facts to utilize in techniques for effecting change, but is content to behold. Change in itself was regarded as evidence of incompleteness and inferiority. At best change was evidence of becoming, of fulfilment, of striving toward the ideal. (10) Under the buffetings of practical necessity, this view has for some groups become modified, so that the real world is regarded as a testing place in which man is obligated to attain the finest type of social organization and personal character possible in order to fit him for eternal life in a realm of perfection. It can readily be seen that such a philosophy would not find its morals originating in ordinary human experience but in a special and higher realm. Consequently, morals would have no inherent drive but would need to be reinforced by some such device as the mystical experience.

The practical effect of this separation of the real and the ideal was to produce a feeling that the natural never could of itself attain to the spiritual, nor the real to the ideal. In one form or another this type of thought has been dominant for 2500 years. Probably the most pronounced modification of this point of view came with Kant and his self-styled Copernican Revolution. As Dewey points out, Kant took over the old terms, form and matter, though he radically changed their meaning. The outcome of his teaching was to put science in one category and religion in another.

Regarding science we could be certain; regarding religion we could never hope to reach finality. Any attempt to reach finality regarding God, the soul, or immortality he discouraged. His thesis was that "concrete experience, not logical conceptions by themselves warrant statements about matters of existence," adding, in Dewey's language, that "sensations require thought to get anywhere." (11)

But Kant's conclusions gave no comfort to religious skeptics, for his piety forbade his reaching negative conclusions in the realm of religion. He made a dichotomy between science and religion which has carried over into present-day thought. In the realm of faith science has nothing to contribute. Morals, being in the higher realm with religion, are not subject to evaluation or criticism. The result of this demarcation is, as Dewey says, to make of science such a regime that it "becomes a technical operation of an intellectual class; it is barren in morals, where fertilization by science is most needed, fruitful only in material appliances and machines used in the material sphere for mundane ends where the world is already too much with us. Morals become an affair for formulas, often sublime in themselves, but without possibility of effective translation, intellectual or practical, into the affairs of the workaday world." (12)

The emphasis to-day in the physical and social sciences is upon explanation in terms of dependable correlations of events. Reports of sporadic, miraculous events are looked upon with suspicion and when the apparently miraculous occurs the attempt is made to explain the event by known principles. Moreover, the

methods of laboratory science and statistics are not adapted to a consideration of a dualism between ideality and reality. Hence in an era of scientific explanation and technique a theological view dependent upon belief in special intervention in human events and mystical approaches to phenomena is weakened, and morality based upon it suffers loss of prestige.

The third factor to be reckoned with is the change in the social-economic-political organization due to the advances in science and the application of science to industry. The new type of production necessitated the association of great numbers of people in comparatively limited areas, thus calling into play new personal and social relationships and putting an undue strain upon the already inadequate moral code derived from a pastoral people. New motives in industry were evoked. While the Industrial Revolution brought about a transition from hand labor to machine labor the more important factor for the purpose of our study was the shift from home labor to factory labor. In home labor on the whole the motive was primarily production for the immediate consumption of one's own family and community group. In factory labor the motive was large-scale production for profits. Under the resulting economic system, large-scale capitalism, the control of industry was largely in the hands of the minority. Joy in workmanship tended to disappear with the loss of first-hand proprietary interest in the product. Subdivision of labor tended to accentuate this result in that the relationship of one's work to the finished product was not always apparent, and monotony due to high specialization became an increas-

ingly powerful factor. Because of these factors, work was looked upon by many as drudgery.

The nature of the industrial organization produced new problems of periodic unemployment against which, because of insufficient wages, provision by the worker could not always be made. The alleviation of the consequent suffering became a matter of paternalistic benevolence, and current morality regarded as especially laudable those men who gave of their surpluses to the needy. The fact was blinked that too often the surpluses were gained by exploiting the very workers whose need gave the occasion for charity. Organizations of capitalists on the one hand and of laborers on the other arose; and more and more they came to look upon their interests as mutually exclusive. Economic individualism and desire for freedom from control were dominant attitudes, and found sanction in the rise of new "economic laws." (13) The religious virtues of humility and unselfishness were enjoined on the worker but were not regarded as necessary for the employer, nor indeed consonant with "natural economic law." Ruthless exploitation of women and children in industry, to say nothing of the existence of Negro slavery until 1865, brought more problems. (14)

While the structure of society was undergoing such profound economic and industrial changes, general education was rising as a powerful factor, and a receptive attitude toward science and the scientific method was growing. The rising tide of democracy not only made education available for the masses, but gave to the individual man a faith in his own judgment which boded ill for authority in any realm. The student who entered

the educational system with the theological ideas described above came into contact with the experiences of other races and found discrepancies between their ideas of religion and his. Likewise, he discerned that there were many standards of ethical action, all considered by their devotees as final and valid. The very discovery of other views was somewhat disconcerting, and often had the effect of shaking faith. Experiencing, then, the difficulty of carrying out the injunctions of the religious-moral law in daily living and probably shrewdly observing that "the wicked flourish as a green bay tree," is it any wonder that many modern people ceased to struggle for conformity to the old standard, and instead yielded to the pressure of daily life and conformed to its patterns? The old God who punished the wicked was gone. In his place, dictating morals, was nothing but man's own judgment and his habitual responses. In so far as his habitual responses fitted easily into the organization of life, they were likely to be retained. To the extent that they opposed the necessities of daily life they were almost certain to be dropped.

In economic pursuits for example, which form the bulk of one's waking activities, the profit motive often opposes the ethical principle of service; the desire for profits frequently leads to the exploitation of human labor and thus opposes the principle of brotherhood; over-statement and slight misrepresentation in advertising, false reports to tax collecting authorities, and evasions of legal responsibilities, as well as the necessity of keeping plans secret from competitors, oppose scrupulous honesty. If the demand for mass produc-

tion in order to compete leads to a lowering of quality, it opposes integrity and thoroughness of workmanship. The investment of surplus funds and the reaping of benefits from unearned increment weaken the principle of returning value for value. If the investments be in backward countries, their protection may require the use of falsehoods and propaganda and the playing up of race hatreds and nationalistic fears, eventuating in war, which is the supreme denial of all ethics. Of course, to assume that the black elements constitute the whole of the picture of modern business and industrial organization would be fatuous. But it seems hardly less so to assume that the dark side is not to be reckoned with in any attempt to understand the relation of morals to life. (15)

Where habitual responses fail to meet human needs, the individual whose morals were based on supernatural sanctions is thrown on his judgment, if his faith in the supernatural is shattered. But his judgment is not trained for this task. He was not taught to evaluate a situation involving morals, in terms of all its factors, deciding the course of action with a view to the social desirability of its outcomes. Instead, he was trained not to use his judgment in such problems, but to apply moral precepts handed down to him by unquestioned authority. The laws of habit formation apply in the field of morality as in any other field; and failure to develop habits of scientific judgment in moral situations means that the individual is left without any mechanism for making the necessary evaluations. Unless he can develop these habits as he would any other intellectual or motor habits, he will not be

equipped to make the transition from extrinsic to intrinsic moral authority, and he will become a moral derelict drifting with the currents of life. Let men of his type rear children who have not had the drive of their religion-generated "morals" nor yet the training to make and act upon critical, ethical evaluations, and we shall have a generation who will cause the professional "viewers-with-alarm" to cry out that we must return to the teachings of the old religion.

To the question, then, "Can morals be taught apart from religion?" we must reply with another question, "What do you mean by religion?" If by religion is meant a system of beliefs and practices based upon supernatural sanctions, we would answer that although religion has been in the past a major factor underpinning morals, and may still be, a system of ethical education which is based upon a specific account of the universe and man's relation to it, is likely to prove an unreliable foundation. The more definite the teaching of a religion concerning the physical universe, and the more arbitrary the declaration as to the nature of the Deity, the greater the likelihood that a shift in outlook arising from an increase in social experience or scientific knowledge will result in a loss of conviction about moral sanctions.

If by religion is meant the integration of life in terms of which a progressive revaluation takes place, we would answer that morals cannot be developed apart from religion, since without this conscious element any action, however salutary in its social effect, is nothing more than a motor-muscular trick. This is not to disparage habit. We recognize, as Dewey

says, that "our ideas are dependent, to say the least, upon our habits as are our acts upon our conscious thoughts and purposes. . . . Only the man whose habits are already good can know what the good is. Immediate, seemingly instinctive feeling of the direction and end of various lines of behaviour is in reality the feeling of habits working below direct consciousness." (16) Dewey points out that habits of thought outlive habits of action, and that one reason why the moral effects of significant revolutions do not show themselves until after the lapse of years is that legislation and change in custom may repress overt action, but they do not immediately affect the habit of thought. "A new generation must come upon the scene whose habits of mind have been formed under the new conditions." (17)

A realistic system of moral education will recognize that habits of mind are formed as responses to the conditions that surround the individual and that such habits will bear a striking resemblance to the type of social situation which calls them forth. Therefore, instead of resting content with preachments to individuals about desirable virtues, many of which are mere negations and repressions, we shall be concerned with such a reorganization of the social structure as will evoke the desired qualities. This view assumes that human nature can be changed and that instincts are modifiable through use. Customs form the patterns according to which the instincts operate, and as customs are changed so too will the manifestations of instinct change, with some lag due to the continuance of old habits.

Whether ethical character be based upon recognized

types of religion or not it would seem to require the evaluative dynamic. Without it character is not self-directive and growing, but automatic, based upon a repertory of acceptable habits. Again we face the fact that the process of evaluating situations is itself a developed mode of life or a set of habits; but such a set of habits makes possible release from the dominance of tradition and provides opportunity for the development of new habits of adjustment. Man's problem is not how to find release from all habits, for he is a habit-bound animal, dependent for his very existence and for his progress on the fact that he can rely upon the relative dependability of his own and other men's behavior. His problem, as we see it, is rather how to develop those habits which make for orderliness of life, consistency of character, and continuance of growth.

At the risk of too great repetition, we must point out that habits of ethical action are established in conformity with the general principles of habit formation. There must be readiness for the action, satisfaction in its accomplishment, repetition which strengthens habit, and the broadening of practice in a wide variety of situations. More important, there must be insight which gives meaning to action. Coercion in the field of ethics does not produce dynamic character, but habitual, non-evaluative action. It is at best a negative, restrictive, and protective device which must be supplemented by major emphasis on positive habit formation.

Coercion in the area of beliefs, manners, and morals may result in priggishness, inhibition, or hypocrisy. The individual may learn to perform an act because it

is prudential, rather than because it seems to him right or kind. He may hold a belief because fear permeates his thinking on the subject, rather than because of intellectual conviction. Since emotions play so large a role in evaluation, it is particularly important that satisfactions be insured in activities which are planned to develop standards of ethical appreciation. The use of coercion invariably arouses antagonism, the emotional concomitants of which are antithetical to the reactions aroused in æsthetic enjoyment and zestful living. (18)

Our argument that coercion constitutes an inferior method of inculcating habits does not mean that it is to be wholly eschewed. We believe that society has the right to insist that personality and property be respected and that violators of these rights be restrained. We have stated that society may properly regulate the individual, regardless of what he thinks and feels, with respect to such matters as traffic, the use of explosives and fire-arms, fire-regulation, and the protection of public health. So, too, may the group-work agency properly use coercion in upholding well-established and intellectually defensible protective regulations. It is sound educational procedure to attach annoyances to practices regarded as undesirable, just as it is wise to attach satisfactions to desirable activity. Education may at times be blocked until the extirpation of undesirable habits takes place, either by repression or by substitution. But if ethical action is desired, such action must be habitually repeated with recurrent satisfaction to the doer; and such satisfaction must arise from the sense of acting in conformity with a prin-

ciple accepted and valued by the doer. Our problem becomes largely that of particularizing actions involving ethical principles and securing practice in a wide variety of situations, so that the principles rather than the specific actions remain as the deposit of experience. (19) It involves the problem of the place of precept, ideal, symbol, and ritual.

There are those who maintain that the way to develop ethical character is to teach moral doctrines, making belief basic, and reinforcing belief with emotional drive through preachment, symbol, and ritual. "If the heart is right, right action will follow."

The chief difficulties presented by such a view reside in the fact that there is no automatic application of a general principle to a specific situation, and little transfer of training from practice situations involving intellectual or motor skills to new and somewhat dissimilar situations. If transfer is to be secured, there must be practice in a wide variety of situations, each involving the common element. The greater the widening of practice in particularized situations, the greater will be the likelihood that the important principle will be applied in a new, unpracticed situation. But merely widening the area of practice is not enough. There must be in each instance a denotation of the principle involved and a recognition of its bearing. Only so can the principle emerge from the discrete experiences and become a standard of value by which new situations are to be judged.

If, for example, honesty is to be inculcated, it will not be enough to teach "Thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness"; nor to

appeal to a special virtue of a class with which the person is identified: "A Scout is trustworthy." Harts-horne and May have shown that there may be acceptance of a principle and failure to recognize that in a given situation the principle is involved.

It does not follow that a child who has been taught to be honest in money matters and in the reporting of happenings will necessarily be honest in athletic games or in dividing up the spoils of a berry-picking expedition. It is true that attitudes and skills have wider transfer value than knowledge of the informational type. Yet every experienced club leader knows of young people who have been so indoctrinated with an idea of honesty that they would not steal money or objects from an individual, but they will perhaps avoid paying car fares if they can, they will steal fruit or vegetables from a patch, and they will cheat in athletic games.

Recently we witnessed the attempt of a group of school boys about thirteen years old to "rush" the door of a street car. The conductor slammed the door and, singling out one boy, said,

"Drop your nickel."

The boy answered,

"I did."

The conductor replied,

"You did not; you dropped three cents" (the fare being eight cents).

The school teacher who was taking her boys to the Museum of Natural History strode forward and said,

"Open that door. This boy is honest. How dare you accuse him of stealing?"

The conductor smiled and replied,
"Lady, this door stays closed until he pays. He may be honest with you but this is a street car. Boys ain't honest on street cars."

One of the boy's companions said,
"Go on, pay up."

With a grin the youngster dropped his nickel and hopped off the car saying,

"Smart guy, that conductor."

After the children and teacher had left, we asked the conductor what he meant by his statement that boys are not honest on street cars. His answer was,

"Maybe five to ten per cent are, but the rest think beating the company is a game."

The reader is referred for more scientific data to the Hartshorne and May studies heretofore cited. These studies indicate that in matters of honesty there is little difference between Sunday-school pupils of Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish persuasion and children raised without specific religious training, and that a large proportion are dishonest in certain money matters.

Our suggestion is that if ethical action is to be insured, the agency promulgating ideals must be in a position to control a significant range of daily experience which has inherent value to the clientele. The standards of the leisure-time group are powerful controlling forces in individual life. Hence any type of organization which gives the leader opportunity to affect such areas of experience as work, study, play and worship, infusing into all of these a common ideal, will be more effective than an organization which affects just one area of experience. The typical city

situation is one in which the individual is subjected to the pulls and strains of a number of uncoordinated and possibly inharmonious groups. In the light of this fact we can appreciate why certain boarding schools, summer camps, Scout troops organized on the patrol basis, and clubs which are at once sociable, athletic, and educational organizations, make noticeable imprints on character. (20)

Leaders in group work and in religious education have been greatly impressed with the results of investigations by Hartshorne and May, Hightower, and others, which indicate that group loyalty is enormously effective in determining individual standards of action. As May says "the group standards or group codes are closely related to group conduct. This study indicates that when knowledge is incorporated into the unwritten code of the group it becomes effective. The effectiveness of it is doubtless due to the sanction placed by the group upon it which affords it a drive." (21) They have followed to the logical conclusion that the effective instrument in character education is group loyalty. But they have not always done complete justice to Miss Hart's criticism that loyalty to a bad group is likely to make a bad citizen. Honor among thieves is more than a phrase; it is a hard fact. The unwillingness of boys and men to "snitch," or bear testimony against their fellows, may have admirable aspects; but it is a warped loyalty which supports dishonorable conduct, crime, graft, and political irregularity. Finney puts the problem well when he says,

"It is not the group loyalty of a group's members, but the objectives of the group's activities which count.

Nothing could be worse for Mary, George, or Walter than loyalty to some groups. To entice them into loyalty to a group with safe ideals, instead of letting their loyalty be captured by some other group with dangerous ideals, is likely to be the very core of the problem. This brings us back to the lure of the pleasing personality, and the whole philosophy of hero-worship, so important in the technique of inter-group competition." (22)

The task of the group worker is to help put moral dynamic into group attitudes and to re-direct group loyalties so that they serve worthy ends. In situations where groups with low standards are already the basis of club organization, the group worker will not only have the task of re-directing loyalties to socially acceptable values, but may have the responsibility of protecting a newcomer by keeping him out of the group and steering him toward a better group. In extreme cases of anti-social groups, the group worker may best serve the individual and society by definitely competing for the loyalty of the individual, and helping him to adjust to a new group.

In the chapter on "Organization" we pointed out the danger of circumscribing the member's outlook if so much of his activity is directed by one agency that other contacts are denied him. Nevertheless, in the absence of an organized community program, every aspect of which is designed to strengthen ethical motivation, the agency which desires to develop character will have to teach each trait, such as honesty, as a conscious ideal. It will have to enlist emotional support for it; but above all will have to see that it is worked

out and recognized as the desired principle in all types of school, club, and recreational activities, in business dealings, and in other areas of life.

The teaching of ideals which are to be consciously accepted, and the attempt to motivate these ideals by convictions and enthusiasms troubles many exponents of modern theory. They charge that there is too much uncritical acceptance of ideals now, and that the rising of emotion inevitably blocks analytical thought. Especially do they object to the use of ritual in character education, holding that ritual makes for "strict compliance with detailed and punctilious rule"; the very antithesis of critical thought. (23)

It is true that there is in social life today an uncritical acceptance of the mores which is entrenched in ritual. In so far as ritual is a substitutionary device for action, it undermines genuine morality. We would not, in group work, advocate the use of ritual which involves supernaturalism, nor that makes a fetich of patriotism. To the latter point we shall return later.

We would, however, differentiate between ritual which consists of "acts which are ordained by authority and are repeated mechanically without intelligence" (24) and a type of ceremonialism built around symbols which have developed meaning for a group because of common experiences. To eliminate all ceremony from life would be to take from life much of its color and drama, and even to eliminate etiquette and manners.

The process which we would approve in group work might begin with the desire of the group to develop an initiation ritual or a ceremony for regular or special meetings. In attempting to symbolize the club's ideals

the leader might bring about a dispassionate consideration of values which the group can accept, full consideration being given to every phase of the question, and the implications of different points of view being traced. Upon acceptance of a value by the group, the leader might have the group forecast the types of situation in which the principle might be involved, and how action would be modified by adherence to the principle. Dramatization or symbolizing of the ideal might then be attempted as part of the ritual. Loyalty to the ideal might be motivated by the use of stories, allegories, and biographical accounts. Since people do not grow up in a moral vacuum, the leader will at the outset have to assume acceptance of some virtues as desirable. Such ideals as fairness, honesty, courtesy, and helpfulness constitute residual values accepted at least tacitly by most groups. The leader will not, however, consider that there can be no other view than his own or the general social view. He will on no account discourage the honest expression of opinion, nor will he permit to be put into a group ceremony or ritual an idea which he knows is not sincerely accepted. He may find it necessary because of the standards of the community or of the group-work agency to insist upon a certain type of conduct. He may go further, and because of his own convictions, become a protagonist of a moral principle. But he will beware of putting his group in a position which makes for hypocrisy.

The task of the educator is four-fold: to help a group find and set forth principles that enrich social and personal life; to discover, arrange, or capitalize situations in which the principles may be practiced; to

permit critical evaluation of principles commonly accepted, and to guide the deliberative process; to aid in the development of convictions about principles which will result in their practice, even at personal sacrifice. The first task calls for the use of social analysis and evaluation on the leader's part. The second calls for social experimentation and control, and a knowledge of the conditions governing habit development. The third task, the development of the art of social analysis and evaluation by the group members, puts upon the leader the responsibility for insuring that decisions represent deliberative thought in terms of social consequences, and not emotional reactions against authority, nor mere self-gratification. The fourth task is that of inspiring and unifying the whole personality so that the motivation becomes internal desire, rather than internal compulsion of automatic habits or external coercion.

Symbolism and ritual have been so universally potent in controlling the activities of men in groups that any serious study of group processes must attempt to set forth their significance and their application to modern group work.(25) The wide-spread use of ritual and symbolism in present-day group work is evidenced by the oaths, codes, laws, and ceremonials of practically every national organization for boys and girls in the United States. Not only do these movements make use of symbolism and ritual, but the vast majority of independent organized clubs utilize these devices. Among movements for young people and adults we find a corresponding amount of ritual in use. Indeed, certain students of fraternal orders in America are convinced that it is the hold of ritual upon the individual,

rather than more tangible organizational benefits, that explains the popularity of secret orders. We are by no means convinced that ritual is the most potent factor in the programs of most organizations. It seems likely that ritual adds a touch without which certain movements would appear drab, but the probability is that such other activities as athletics, education, and social good times, the sense of prestige which comes from group association, certain supposed business benefits accruing from membership, and such features as insurance, all exert a powerful influence.

Charles Merz, however, points out that in American life there is so much drabness that men and women demand ritual and even make-believe as a means of enhancing the sense of their own importance. (26) On no other basis, he thinks, can one explain the existence in this country of some eight hundred different secret orders with a total of thirty million members, or half the adult population of the country, all of whom solemnly swear not to reveal the awful secrets of their "ancient," "mystic," or "royal" orders.

If ever there was a time when human group life was without symbolism and ritual that time is not known to historians, ethnologists, and sociologists. It may be that in the childhood of the race and among primitive peoples ritual was more powerful than it is today among civilized folk, but it is doubtful if symbolism ever played as large a part in human life as now.

In tracing the course of ritual there is a danger common to genetic studies, whether they be studies of sex reactions, religion, science, or patriotism, that one may be led to believe that the object of study is the

same at the present moment as it was earlier in the experience of the race, whereas a complete transmutation may have taken place in form and meaning. Such analyses often lead students to unilinear explanations of causation which bring the genetic method into disrepute. Because religion, for example, appears to have been associated at some stages in human development with sex activity(27), or with fear(28), or with community control(29), or with honoring or propitiating the dead(30), or with a sense of need(31), it by no means follows that the single factor selected as prepotent is the important one or even an important one in a given religious phenomenon today. With this warning we shall hastily examine ritual for the purpose of observing some of its functions in the past, in the hope that we may find suggestions as to its utility and dangers in present-day group work.

Sumner says of ritual that it is "the process by which the mores are developed and established. . . . In primitive society it is the prevailing method of activity. . . . Ritual is the perfect form of drill and of regulated habit which comes from drill. Acts which are ordained by authority and are repeated mechanically without intelligence run into ritual. If infants and children are subjected to ritual they never escape from its effects through life. . . . It admits of no exception or deviation. The stricter the discipline, the greater the power of ritual over action and character. . . . Ritual is connected with words, gestures, symbols, and signs. Associations result, and, upon a repetition of the signal, the act is repeated, whether the will assents or not. Ritual gains further strength when it

is rhythmical and is connected with music, verse, or other rhythmical arts. . . . Ritual may embody an idea of utility, expediency, or welfare; but it always tends to become perfunctory, and the idea is only subconscious. . . . All ritual is ceremonious and solemn. It tends to become sacred, or to make sacred the subject matter with which it is connected. Therefore, in primitive society, it is by ritual that sentiments of awe, deference to authority, submission to tradition and disciplinary coöperation are inculcated. Ritual, therefore, suggests sentiments, but it never inculcates doctrines." (32)

Ritual permeates every phase of primitive life. This does not mean that every act is ritually performed; for, as Malinowski has shown, although ritual is utilized in every area of present-day primitive life, it is not invoked in specific activities in which are involved no risks and in which technique and knowledge of the pragmatic conditions of success can insure success. He points out that in the Trobriand Archipelago the natives utilize both ritual and work to insure successful gardens. The Trobrianders possess an extensive knowledge of soils, of cultivated plants, and of the practice and necessity of continuous cultivation. If pests or weeds overrun a garden, work, not ritual, is utilized. But they know that drought, heavy rains, or plagues of insects may destroy a garden; and, since these are outside the control of man, ritual is invoked. In canoe-building, technology and ritual are intertwined. The Islanders know the relation of breadth and depth to length and know that "the wider the span of the outrigger the greater the stability yet the smaller

the resistance against strain." They know how to sail the canoe in a gale but they also know that sudden gales and monsoons may swamp the most experienced mariners; hence they combine ritual with technology in the construction and navigation of canoes. "It is most significant," says Malinowski, "that in the Lagoon fishing, where man can rely completely upon his knowledge and skill, magic does not exist, while in open sea fishing, full of danger and uncertainty, there is extensive magical ritual to secure safety and good results." (33)

That ritual has retarded the perfection of crafts seems evident, yet it has undoubtedly had group-preservative features, and the procedures elaborated must represent, on the whole, adjustments to the conditions of nature. Primitive society is relatively static; hence the activities that have been found through generations to be not inimical to human welfare will continue to be safe for present and future generations. Although experimentation might conceivably develop advantageous activities, the dangers of failure appear too great, for the primitive mind does not distinguish clearly between failures due to bad reasoning and failures due to fortuitous calamities in no sense inherently connected with the innovation. Regardless of the cause, an activity that has disastrously failed must carry the odium of blame, and new taboos are erected to forbid its practice.

From the foregoing discussion, it appears that among primitive peoples ritual served the purpose of preserving the group. In fact, ritual still is most in evidence in groups which place a strong emphasis upon group integrity or the preservation of the institution.

Modern groups organized for leisure-time activities have no such serious group-preservative purpose, for no such group is any longer the sole agency through which an individual acts. The church and the state are now the chief institutions that still subordinate the individual to the group. The church still retains for many the power to bring about mystical experience and consequent loss of individual will in what it calls "the will of God." The state, in times of crisis, may force the individual to sacrifice his life for its preservation. Nevertheless, the attempt to identify the individual with the group's purpose runs as an undercurrent through most group activity; and one mechanism for achieving this identification is ritual.

The group leader confronts the fact that throughout the ages ritual has been a potent force for uniting individuals with the group and for securing from the individuals action which is approved by the group mores. He confronts the further fact that ritual makes a strong appeal to many people because of its drama and rhythm. It is a powerful force in building attitudes toward patriotism and religion. He must decide whether the dangers involved in its use are so great that he must eliminate it from his programs, or whether it is possible to use ritual as a dynamic for ethical action.

If ritual is to be used in modern group work, it will be necessary to qualify the term so that by it we no longer mean a type of activity-producing automatic response beyond the ability of the individual to control. We shall have to reorganize ritual so that it incorporates symbols with special meaning for the group, ceremonies which enlist æsthetic interests, and activi-

ties that call for creative expression. Ritual so re-organized will stress the ceremonial rather than the repetitious or automatic.

In current religions, ritual takes on newer meanings, even though it continues to produce some of the psychological concomitants of automatic behavior. It becomes organized ways of dealing with symbols, which in turn stand for spiritual concepts too diffuse, too abstract, or too complicated to permit of complete statement every time they are needed. In modern society there appears to be an ever-increasing tendency to re-interpret symbols. In fact, within a given fellowship in which a recognized symbol is used, individual interpretations of the meaning for which the symbol stands may range from extremely conservative to extremely radical. The fact that the corporate body may have agreed upon an official orthodox interpretation does not prevent those within the fellowship from making individual interpretations. The whole process of modern life involves the expansion of symbolism, for as areas of activity become extended and as new areas of inquiry are opened up, meanings and explanations become too numerous to permit of constant reiteration.

Ritual and symbolism are inextricably intertwined. We might subordinate them in group-work procedures; but it is unlikely that we could eliminate them. Rituals are ways of acting invested with special meaning. Symbols are shorthand for extended meanings. Many symbols are so specific in their uses that they call up definite emotional reactions. Such symbols may be words, phrases, holidays, gestures, or objects such as

candles, flags, altars, chalices, and designs. The danger in the use of symbolism is that the presentation of the symbol will release a conditioned reaction against which intelligence is almost powerless.

Boas tells us that an act which is performed so regularly that it becomes automatic, as is the case of a ritualistic act, becomes so comfortable a way of acting that any change produces strong feelings of displeasure. Opposition to such change is, however, set forth in terms of rationalizations about propriety, virtue, decency, order, or truth, rather than as annoyance at the disruption of a comfortable habit. (34)

The recent emphasis upon conditioned response as an explanation for much of our habitual and automatic behavior, both overtly muscular and also emotional, throws new light upon certain phases of ritualistic behavior. We have learned that any human reaction may be deliberately or fortuitously associated with almost any stimulus so that upon the presentation of the stimulus the reaction automatically follows. (35) It is difficult to inhibit such reactions by reason or volition. To accomplish a dissociation of reaction from stimulus one or more of several complicated processes as varied as substitution and psycho-analysis must be invoked. Advertising illustrates the use of dissociation by means of substitution. However, substitution does not completely release the person from the dominance of emotional reaction where intellectual controls should be in operation. In so far as it may be desirable to create in people unthinking, automatic responses to situations, ritual is undoubtedly an effective means of securing the result. Nevertheless, the conditioning

of human reactions makes adjustment difficult and belated in situations of rapid social change.

It must be apparent that the use of ritual in group work involves the danger that the development of critical, independent thinking will be inhibited. Whether this price is too heavy to pay for the purpose of enlisting emotional drives as motivations to ethical conduct, the leader must decide. The dangers are minimized if the group ritual is devised critically on the basis of values consciously accepted. Even on such terms we should urge leaders to attempt progressively to lead their clients away from the dominance of ritual. In our judgment, it is a lesser good—a stepping stone to higher emotional levels. Probably the fully mature person does not require such motivation.

The problem of symbolism is more complicated than that of ritual. Since a symbol represents intellectual and emotional shorthand for extended meanings, almost any object, phrase, or situation may come to possess symbolic power. Our task is to determine what are desirable uses of symbolism today and how we shall use it in group work. If a reputable leader utilizes symbolism and ritual so effectively that the emotional reactions of his group members are strongly conditioned, he places his followers in a position in which they are subject to subsequent exploitation by less reputable persons. "Because of its power to siphon emotion out of distinct ideas, the symbol is both a mechanism of solidarity and a mechanism of exploitation." (36) It is the value of the symbol as a mechanism of solidarity that commends it to the group leader, despite its dangers. "No successful leader has

ever been too busy to cultivate the symbols which organize his following. What privileges do for the hierarchy symbols do for the rank and file. They conserve unity." (37)

If the educational leader can start with the restrained use of symbols and, by gradually putting new meaning into them, eventually lead his group to a place where critical analysis of the ideas embodied in symbol and ritual is possible he has justified his procedure. Sumner says "Criticism is the operation by which suggestion is limited and corrected. It is by criticism that the person is protected against credulity, emotion, and fallacy. The power of criticism is the one which education should chiefly train. . . . The supreme criticism is criticism of one's self." (38)

The group leader who accepts the role of educator is placed in the paradoxical position of utilizing emotion so as to free his group eventually from its dominance. Those who protest that this process cannot be followed out forget that a large part of the advance of liberalism in religion has been due to the leadership of ministers trained in liberal seminaries, yet able to retain the confidence of their congregations by using the accepted terminology and symbolism of the group while putting new meanings into them. As this process of transforming the symbols goes on there develops an ability to discuss them and then to criticize them and eventually to discard those that appear to have lost their utility. The process demands of the leader enough agreement with the basic ideals of the group so that he can with sincerity use the group symbols even while putting new meaning into them. It is ex-

tremely doubtful whether a leader who disbelieved in a group's symbols and openly criticized them could ever bring his group to the place where they could consciously reevaluate their beliefs.

Among the most dangerous symbols and rituals are those connected with patriotism.(39) Because of the romance and honor associated with the age-old tradition "It is sweet and proper to die for one's country," the strong emotional appeal of patriotism has been in terms of war. The barbarous and revolting business of killing the men of other countries becomes obscured in the self-sacrificial emotional blur, as do the agonies of the dressing stations and hospitals, the filth of the trenches, the dehumanization of mass movements and military discipline, the privations of blockaded civilian populations, and the complete spiritual disintegration that goes with mass hatred, mass propaganda, and mass murder. The violent opponent of war usually fails to see that he will never kill the war system by describing the horrors of combat. So long as patriotism is as it is, even the men who see clearly the picture of war as a descent from decency will not hesitate to engage in it, if that appears to be the only means of defending the native land. Nor will the attack upon patriotism and patriotic symbols likely be effective. To claim, as do some, that since war is rooted in patriotism, and patriotism is sometimes used as the last refuge of scoundrels, therefore patriotism must be wiped out if war is to be abolished, is not only historically inaccurate but, instead of winning many converts to the cause of peace, would probably cause the leader completely to lose his following.

In contrast with this approach is the one that holds that patriotism is vital to national life, but that "Patriotism is not enough." In answer to the doctrine "My country, right or wrong" some would say with John Quincy Adams, "I disclaim all patriotism incompatible with the principles of eternal justice." Like Adams, they would hold that true patriotism consists in constant and undramatic service, in such criticism as might correct error and injustice, and in refusal to coöperate in corporate conduct which would be unworthy of an ethical individual.(40) If such a person believed with Stuart Chase that in the next war, because of the present advance of aviation and efficiency of gas, explosive, and germ offensives there could be no adequate defense of civilian populations; but that conqueror and conquered would alike find his cities wiped out and his civilization destroyed, he might then argue that patriotism and the demands of national defense demanded the abolition of war as a means of settling international disputes.(41) Let us not be carried away by any illusions that the latter course of putting new meaning into patriotism would be easy, popular, or quickly effective. He who thinks that traditional conceptions can safely be played with must live in a fool's paradise. What we do claim is that the person who attacked patriotism and flouted all its symbols would attract to his program only those who were already disgruntled with national life and hostile to the government. The second approach would encounter extreme opposition, since there already has been established "the dominance of watchwords and phrases which take the place of reason and conscience

in determining conduct"; and it would have to encounter "the patriotic bias (which) is a recognized perversion of thought and judgment against which our education should guard us." (42) But if it were sincerely rooted in devotion to the highest interests of the country and could utilize accepted symbols and terminology to put richer meaning into current conceptions, it could gradually win adherents, even from among the conservative patriotic groups. Under such a method one would scrutinize any program proposed with the claim, "This is patriotic." He would examine each situation afresh, asking himself, "What does the welfare of the country demand as a solution of this difficulty?" The method proposed would suggest skepticism regarding flag-waving, but would attempt to put more meaning into the symbolism of the flag.

An uncritical use of symbolism may lead to outcomes which are precisely the opposite of those desired in the interests of character development. One national movement, for example, with international affiliations, is explicitly non-military. No member in the uniform of the organization is ever permitted to bear arms for drill purposes. Moreover, the movement has a definite program for developing international goodwill. Yet the official guidebook to policies and programs of the American movement advocates the use of stereotyped emotional conditioning in patriotism which cannot but make the member uncritical, if the process is at all effective, so that in time of crisis nationalistic feeling would obliterate international friendliness. It constantly identifies patriotism with salutes

to the flag, and associates both with military men and organizations. The handbook suggests that an ex-service man can give formal flag instruction. It is true that the leader is urged to develop this patriotism along broad lines of good citizenship. This ethical aspiration precisely illustrates our point: With the purpose of making the conception of patriotism something more than "formalism and cant," the movement has relied upon devices of such enormous power that it is well-nigh impossible for a person who has been subjected to the conditioning of flags, patriotic music, and military display to be critical of anything associated with them. Observe the military emphasis in these instructions: "The line must be promptly and properly formed, the attitude of every (member) erect and alert, the commands crisp and forceful, the bugle call correctly sounded, the salute accurate in every particular and snappy from start to finish, the oath of allegiance repeated with perfect wording, with clear pronouncement and with serious and reverent demeanor." On the next page follows a discussion suggesting to leaders that "Officials of patriotic organizations, the American Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, Rough Riders, Woman's Relief Corps, Daughters of the Confederacy, Spanish War Veterans, Sons of Veterans, Daughters of the American Revolution, *etc.*, may with great profit conduct the exercise which is built around the salute and repetition of the oath of allegiance." (43) When all this is coupled with the emphasis which the organization puts upon loyalty (44) and exact obedience (45), it is difficult to see how independent and critical thinking on matters

of public policy could be done by a person trained in this movement if an appeal should be reinforced by identifying it with the national flag and the anthem. It is likewise questionable whether it is ethical so reiteratively to identify war associations and patriotism. Are not the continuous struggles for the preservation of civil liberties, the efforts to abolish unemployment, poverty, ignorance and vice, the sacrifices necessary to establish new concepts in science, and the contributions of citizens toward orderly, just, and progressive government as highly patriotic as the work of the soldier? If emotional conditioning is justifiable, and the point may be argued, why should not the efforts of character-building agencies be devoted as vigorously toward a process that will call to mind the picture of the mother, the workman, the scientist, the doctor, the educator, and the public servant, when patriotic symbols are used? This process would be difficult to establish, but that it is possible is supported by the findings of psychologists to the effect that any human response can be associated with any adequate stimulus. Nevertheless, the appeal to the emotions always carries with it the danger of inhibiting critical thinking. If used at all it should be so safeguarded that it lends dynamic to a determination to face facts and follow truth.

Ritual in group work is widely used in connection with initiations. Just why groups take delight in initiating newcomers is open to debate. In primitive society the chief purpose of initiation was and still is undoubtedly the preparation of the youth to accept the way of the group, to identify himself with the group, and to undergo a mystical experience of the higher

powers who are in supposed relationship to the group. Although initiation ceremonies differ in detail throughout the world, certain similarities recur so strikingly that they challenge attention. Usually there is a period of seclusion and preparation, then an act of bodily mutilation, then the systematic instruction in the myth and tradition of the group.(46) As Malinowski puts it, ". . . the youth is taught in them the sacred traditions under most impressive conditions of preparation and ordeal and under the sanction of Super-Beings—the light of tribal revelation bursts upon him from out of the shadows of fear, privation, and bodily pain." (47)

Leisure-time groups retain much of the pattern of the primitive initiation ceremony, but part of the pattern has undergone transformation; and the acts of bodily mutilation for the purpose of causing pain conducive to mystical experience, appear to have been supplanted by horseplay and tomfoolery. The period of preparation and the instruction in the group codes still persist, though altered in form. There is the possibility that the insistent urge to make initiates do silly, painful, and dangerous acts rises out of the desire of the members to demonstrate their power and superiority.

The group worker who supervises children's groups is charged with the responsibility of so controlling initiations that injury is not done to property, to the person of the initiate, nor to his personality. At this point the protective aspect of group leadership is uppermost. The leader has the obligation of understanding the psychic damage that can be done through fear,

anxiety, and disgust.(48) If he be the leader of an adult group he should point out any dangers which he believes may inhere in proposed initiation pranks. He should likewise point out the dangers to a group of minors, but if they fail to accept his reasoning he should be prepared to restrain harmful acts.

The other aspects of initiation may be utilized to promote an experience of growth in the entire group. This can be readily illustrated by the experience of a group formerly supervised by us. The leader of the group was a serious young man who proposed that the club adopt the name Boys' Advance Club and work out a ritual embodying the idea of advancement. The boys were hostile to the purpose, the name, and the ritual; and their hostility soon transferred to the leader. The boys, whose chief interest lay in loosely organized sociability and in basketball, wished to form a club called the Evening Stars. This name the leader rejected. The attendance at club meetings dwindled and soon not even one boy appeared. The leader, in despair, agreed to follow advice to the effect that the boys should be called upon in their homes and invited to re-organize the club as the Evening Stars, with basketball as the chief activity and social good times as an incidental feature. Skeptical, yet willing to try again, the boys attended the reorganization meeting. When the club was again a going concern, it was decided to take in some new members. An initiation was planned and the leader's advice was sought. The boys thought chiefly in terms of horseplay, but the leader pointed out that in most adult societies, such as fraternities and lodges, there are three distinct parts

to the induction ceremony. The preliminary part may be physical and frivolous; but the succeeding ceremonies are serious and are designed to impress upon the candidate the worth of the organization he is joining. He then suggested that the boys develop an initiation ceremony based on the name "Evening Stars." The discussion centered upon the meaning of stars to mankind and first steps were taken toward organizing the material into a ritual. The boys mentioned the use of stars by mariners, woodsmen, explorers, and aviators, they spoke of the use of the star as a symbol of hope, and soon began to ask questions about how many stars there are, about their character and their distance from the earth.

The leader was able to arrange a trip for his boys to a university observatory, and with the experience as an impetus several of the boys began to read in the field of elementary astronomy. Next, identification of constellations became a popular activity and Indian legends and other stories of the stars became part of the program of the meetings. The leader suggested that the boys try to find suitable poems, bits of Scripture, and songs to utilize in the ritual. One of the members read the Nineteenth Psalm, which begins "The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork." This appealed to the boys and they voted that it be read while the candidate was being led into the initiation chamber. The boys decided to stand in star formation with the candidate in the center while the induction ceremony was taking place. But the room did not appear properly impressive; so they bought a cheap black curtain material to

be used as a back-drop and on it they placed a silver crescent moon and silver stars symbolizing aspiration and steadfastness. In silver-paper letters they fastened to the curtain their Latin motto which the leader found for them, "*Ad astra per aspera.*" Finally, they covered the electric bulbs with shields so made that a faint light shone through star-shaped cut-outs covered with white paper, and the setting for an impressive initiation was complete. The ceremony helped to unify the club. New members were impressed by the initiation, and entered upon club membership with seriousness of purpose.

Such a use of ritual and symbolism in initiation ceremonies promotes growth through activity. It will be noted that the creation of such a ceremony through research and critical acceptance and rejection of material removes it from the category of traditional ritual, as discussed by Sumner and others. In traditional ritual the present generation consciously adds nothing, questions nothing, and subtracts nothing. Although synthesized or deliberately constructed ritual undoubtedly makes an emotional appeal, the danger of fixed reactions is reduced. In the first place, it is difficult for the group to lose sight of the origins of the ritual; hence they can regard it in somewhat the manner of an artist regarding his handiwork. Nor has the ritual the unchangeable character of a sacrosanct form which has been transmitted by revered people.

In many groups, rituals of various types will have been handed down by previous generations. If one believes in preserving intellectual and emotional independence, he may utilize transmitted rituals but will

permit and encourage examination and modification of the codes. He will see to it, for example, that candidates are not asked such questions as "What are three reasons for obedience to your superiors?" but rather some such task as the following would be assigned: "State the reasons for and against giving obedience to superiors."

It is possible through such rituals as candle-lighting ceremonies to utilize beauty in literary and musical form and in physical settings so that a heightened æsthetic appreciation results. Here again the emotional appeal does not lessen the value; for, as in music and other arts, the strength of the emotional appeal may be enhanced by the intellectual justification that exists for the work. Ours, then, is no plea for ruling out of life all that has to do with richness and warmth and color. Rather would we bring into group life every æsthetic and human element that can be utilized; but we would attempt so to utilize these elements that individuals find the possibilities of action widened, not limited by them. (49)

SUMMARY

Group work, under carefully controlled conditions, may make its contribution to the development of ethical character. The immediate aim may be to raise levels of living to those which are socially acceptable in the community. The ultimate aim will be to sensitize thought and feeling so that action is decided in terms of ethical ideals which transcend the communal group. In achieving the immediate aim, the support of group approval is a powerful aid.

In achieving the ultimate goal it becomes necessary for the individual to seek the approval of his conscience, even though he be forced to stand alone for a principle. The sanction of devotion to an overmastering ideal may be considered a religious motivation. Character motivated by such a sanction may be more stable in times of social change than character motivated by the dogmas of traditional theology. The more definitely a religion affirms a specific account of natural phenomena the more likely is ethical character founded upon that religious sanction to be shaken, if new knowledge calls the religious explanation into question. The problem of developing ethical character today is conditioned by the following factors: the decline of religious orthodoxy and philosophical idealism; the growing regard for scientific explanations; the growth of the sense of power which results from the use of technical instruments; the conflict among many groups for the loyalty of the individual; the pervasiveness of unethical practices in economic and political life.

Ethical character is largely dependent upon a hierarchy of habits; hence the basic factors affecting learning situations will affect character development. Habits must not only be specific, but they must be practiced in a wide variety of situations.

But fixed responses to situations do not constitute ethical character. Insight, evaluation, devotion to ideals, and choice are the irreducible factors in character. Hence the problem of motivation arises. The task of the leader in character development is four-fold: to help a group find and set forth principles that enrich social and personal life; to discover, arrange, or capitalize situations in which the principles may be practiced; to permit critical evaluation of principles commonly accepted, and to guide the deliberative process; to aid in the development of con-

victions about principles that will result in their practice, even at personal sacrifice.

The leader will seek to utilize natural interests to secure activity in unified, not "compartmented" experiences. He will recognize there is no special group of moral subjects, but that all knowledge or skill that works toward the improvement of social life is moral. To that end, utilizing every bit of subject matter or technique that is relevant, he will ignore false distinctions between the "merely instrumental" and the "intrinsically worthwhile." He will not regard his job as done when he has talked about morals. He will center attention upon immediate acts, not upon remote ends, and will strive to bring about understanding of a present act in the light of its outcomes. But in stressing the specific act the educational leader will have in mind that one outcome of activity should be such a widening of practice in ethical action that dependable character results. While the leader will not expect automatic transfer from moral principles to specific situations, neither will he expect an automatic generalization from practice in specific situations to a controlling ethical principle. Conscious identification and acceptance of the principle are necessary if it is to control action on a basis other than the dominance of mere habit. It is here that the religious element, broadly interpreted, will play its part. The drive back of the evaluative process will express itself as subjective morality when in a changing situation the individual refuses to act merely on the basis of transmitted standards, but rather acts upon the basis of his own valuation which furnishes dynamic until a new orientation has taken place. To aid in the process of enriching understanding and appreciation discussion, stories, music, symbols, and ritual in the form of meaningful ceremony may be used.

Ritual and symbolism have affected human motivation since "the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their relation to emotions has been largely of the conditioned-response type. The problem of how to avail oneself of emotional dynamic and yet to preserve the critical factor in evaluating character is not simple. Some will prefer to get away entirely from ritual and symbolism in group work. Others will hold that symbols may be devised to express a unique aspiration, or that they may be accepted in already existent form but re-examined and possibly re-interpreted. The creative attitude toward symbols and ceremonies should serve to diminish the range of automatically controlled reactions of the conditioned-response type.

Coercion may be used, but it will be used with the full recognition that its purpose is protective and its dominance temporary; and that coerced activity is neither ethical nor religious, but merely prudential. Education for a subjective type of morality will not be carried on in ignorance of the fact that sharp separation of subjective or personal morality from objective or social morality is neither useful nor defensible. Coming to us through social inheritance, ideas and beliefs ordinarily regarded as purely personal and subjective appear so because in becoming integrated with our present organization of habits and attitudes they receive a unique, personal orientation. But since morals are dependent upon habits, and "habits incorporate an environment within themselves," being "adjustments of the environment, not merely to it," the problem of educating for moral action involves the problem of creating a suitable environment. The dynamic for effecting the transformation will, as has been said, be a religious conviction which regards moral activity as coextensive with life itself. In this sense morality takes

on positive meaning as the force that makes for unceasing reconstruction of experience.(50)

CHAPTER IX

GROUP WORK AND CHARACTER

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CHAPTER X

GROUP RECORDS: THEIR FORMS AND USES

The keeping of records in group work is an essential requirement of any consistent attempt to improve practical techniques in the field, or to work out scientific generalizations regarding group phenomena. Records also serve the purpose of providing the agency with registration data, without which it cannot have clear ideas as to the character and scope of its work nor of its clientele. Every agency needs data for the purpose of making reports to boards, and to professional bodies, for the purpose of enlightening a new leader concerning his club, for its value as material for leaders concerning group processes, to aid supervisors to evaluate the group and the leader, to help the leader improve his practice, and for suggesting practical experiments in group organization and conduct.

The keeping of records may make a very real contribution to the development of the leader himself. It should serve to quicken his sensitiveness to the multitudinous factors that condition group and individual action, and to the fact that the grosser group manifestations may be of less importance than subtler causative factors. Moreover, if upon undertaking the work the leader will record his aims with respect to his direction of the group and will periodically reexamine them in the light of his recorded material, he will be able to

estimate his achievement. In all probability as he grows in understanding he will wish to revise his aims from time to time. The club records will give him a measure by which to judge his success in achieving enlarging objectives.

If the club members be enlisted in a coöperative task of record keeping, as discussed later, an added impetus may be given to their understanding of group-work purposes and the attempt to record achievements may stimulate the desire for more advanced and more varied programs. The recording of activities sharpens discrimination and brings to light problems which might otherwise be submerged.

Group records, then, may serve the interests of social science, of practical administration, of improved leadership practice, and of group self-criticism and self-improvement. (1)

Improvement in group-work practices may be the result of everyday experience by which intelligent and experienced workers gradually learn to distinguish successful practices from those which fail. Progress may also result from observing the outcomes of the application of a general social and educational philosophy which has been accepted because of its reasonableness and consistency. Finally, group practices may be improved as a result of a detailed study of specific situations which eventuate in the establishment of hypotheses concerning social action. These hypotheses are then tested in experimental situations, the results being incorporated into the body of technical practice.

Science demands the steady accumulation of data for the purpose of proving or disproving a hypothesis.

It is desirable to advance to the point where deliberate experimentation, prediction, and control are possible.(2) The leader who realizes that his humble contribution in the keeping of records may aid in the discovery and formulation of social principles, or in the planning of social experiments, will feel repaid for the additional burden which record keeping puts upon him.

The process of record keeping in group work presents certain special difficulties. The immediate utility of the record may not be perceived by the person keeping the record, even though clearly understood by the person who devised it. The fact that vast quantities of record material are known to have been collected for no useful purpose may discourage the social observer. Records are for active use, not primarily for files.

The complexity of human phenomena makes it difficult to know what elements in a social situation are significant and hence what should be recorded. There is no simple formula for determining the significant elements; but significance is largely to be judged in the light of the special purposes the record is to serve. Having determined the chief purpose, it is well to record all items which appear to bear on the situation related to the purpose.

The observer and recorder of social phenomena is often also a participant in the social process. In group work, if he carries responsibility for the group activity, he is likely to find record keeping a burden which encroaches upon the time and energy available for the program of work. As a result, he may slight the task of record keeping or completely neglect it. In any

case, as a social participant his feelings are involved, his interpretations reflect value-judgments which may be quite erroneous; and his report lacks objectivity. Despite these considerations, the leader should be encouraged to keep records and should be helped to see that his participation may make a valuable contribution.(3)

To date very little progress has been made in determining what are the essential factors in group practice to be observed and recorded, or in devising satisfactory forms upon which to report needed information. Here is a fertile field for experimentation.

The form of the group record, like the choice of significance of behavior elements, will depend upon the primary purpose the record is to serve. If it be designed primarily for experimental purposes, rather than as descriptive narrative or summary, the record will be devised so that it will utilize to the greatest possible degree accurate measurement and objective observation.

The use of data collected can help answer a number of pressing questions which affect group theory and practice, including the following:

How much does cultural homogeneity affect good work in a given type of group?

What relation is there between age of members and type and effectiveness of organization?

What is the effect of economic factors upon activity?

What place may the leader be expected to take in a given type of group?

How may a leader help his group progress from the

necessity for leader-control to self-direction and control?

What types of program may be expected to succeed with given groups?

What types of activity are successful with mixed clubs containing boys and girls or men and women?

What relationships exist between intelligence of group members and program interests and successes?

Do individual projects contribute to group stability?

What relationships exist between group membership and delinquency?

What relationship exists between adjustments outside the group and adjustments within the group?

What factors result in membership mortality?

In attempting to objectify group data, the group worker will do well to recognize the difference between a narrative account and quantitative measurements, which cannot readily be carried on in a club room by such a participant observer as the leader. In fact, it is doubtful whether frequency tallies of different types of activity could be carried on within the club room at all without introducing an element which would make the group action artificial. To be maximally scientific, all of the significant behaviors within the group would need to be tabulated. Since these behavior manifestations are occurring simultaneously, a corps of observers would be needed. It is hardly likely that such a corps could operate successfully, even with the use of special rooms equipped with one-way screens, such as have been used by Dr. Arnold Gesell at Yale and by the experimenters at the Teachers' College Institute for Juvenile Research.(4)

We face, then, a practical realization of the different forms and purposes of group records and of the different methods and instrumentalities for securing data. Let the executive of the agency decide the major purposes to be achieved by the keeping of the record. If the major purpose is to be the advancement of social science, then let him set up selected group situations to be studied objectively by trained observers rather than by group participants. It will be necessary to provide enough groups of comparable status so that the observers may carry on their studies with experimental and control groups.(5)

In our judgment, group-work agencies are at present insufficiently equipped to carry on accurate studies of group phenomena. Nor is this statement in derogation of the quality of group work. We believe that group-work agencies may produce a type of practical record material, the study of which may suggest hypotheses to be tried out by experimental agencies. The group-work agencies may themselves test out theories for their own practical enlightenment. But the strictly scientific work will probably have to be carried out by trained social scientists, who utilize as their agents, competent practitioners in group leadership. It would be advisable if for this purpose clubs were induced to meet in specially equipped laboratory rooms, such as are provided some nursery and experimental schools. It is unlikely that clubs of older children or of adults would fail to see through the purposes of such arrangements and the experiment would probably be vitiated.

The form of record kept by the group leader may

stress less the quantitative tally of behavior frequencies than the accurate narrative account of each activity. It is important to know not only what has happened in a group, but to make critical analysis of the conditions under which things happen and a record of the results of selective observation. Eventually such analysis should result in experiments in group activity under controlled condition.

The data needed for the agency's general information are basic to a more intimate understanding of the group. They constitute relatively objective, verifiable data and might well be given on the face sheet of a more extended record, as the objective data in case work constitute the face sheet material preceding the narrative and interpretation.

In our judgment, to serve the practical needs of group work at least five types of information are needed: information about the individual member, irrespective of his relationships in the group; information revealing the relationships of the member in the group; a description of the group, setting forth the origins of its formation, its achievements and its present trend; the group in its relations with the community, and with the agency and its constituent groups; data relating to the leader, especially in respect to his position in the group.

The data should include the following: Name of group, date of organization, date of entry into agency, stated purpose of group, officers, dues, time of meeting, roster of members with their addresses, ages, racial and religious affiliations, occupations, attendance at meetings, and possibly certain physical and psycho-

logical data such as height, weight, and general development, and intelligence quotients of the members.

Additional information about the group, but not of the objective nature of the foregoing should supplement these data. It should furnish facts relative to the history and development of the group, its avowed and actual purposes, its record, if any, before it came into the agency, its constitution, its more important programs, and its typical activities.

This type of record is already in limited use in group-work agencies. Its primary purpose is to furnish the agency data concerning the clubs and groups, so that periodic reports may reveal the extent and general character of the group work conducted by the agency. We do not regard this type of record as adequate, since it considers data concerning the individual as of subsidiary importance.

This type of record is useful in acquainting a new leader or a supervisor with the status of the club, so that there may be as little lost motion as possible in carrying on the program and so that a continuous record of the major facts may be on hand.

However, if the aims of group work include the maximum development of each individual through his activity in the group and adjustment to the group, we shall require data about the individual in as many varieties of relationship, outside of the group, as we can observe. We shall also have to study the relationships of individuals within the group.

In addition to the data concerning the individual contained in the club record, we shall require information regarding home, family, and neighborhood relation-

ships. Elaboration on physical, mental, and emotional status will be necessary, for these will reveal cues as to his feelings of inadequacy, inferiority, satisfaction, or frustration, which work themselves out in social relationships. Information concerning his feelings about his vocation, his talents, his education, and his sex adjustment is valuable. His participation in other groups and the standards of these groups should be known. We know that a person acts differently in different groups. He seeks status with his fellows and to gain their approval will tend to conform to their standards. Sometimes conflict within a personality arises from an inability to adjust to the varying demands of diverse groups. One purpose of group work, especially for the immature, is to help provide a consistently unified social environment in which standards generally accepted by the influential groups in the wider society may exercise their influence. This process may be advanced by utilizing detailed knowledge of the diverse trends of activities of the individuals comprising the group.

To make concrete the type of information concerning the individual which should be recorded so that its accumulation may shed light upon problems of his personality adjustment, we suggest the following:

Home: description of type of dwelling, the general character of its furnishings, general character of neighborhood, economic and cultural status as revealed by home. Apparent reaction of club member to his home conditions.

Family: parents, other adults living with family,

brothers or sisters, ages, relation to them (*e.g.*, equality, inferiority, superiority, antagonism, coöperation, dependence, love). Achievements of members of the family. Notable failures, or limitations of members of family. Apparent attitude of club member to them and their attitudes toward him.

Neighborhood: Describe its physical and cultural characteristics, the gangs or groups composing it, the member's relation to neighborhood gangs or groups, his acceptance or rejection by them, special physical or social features influencing activity, general character of community with respect to law, accepted morality, religion, education, and cultural opportunity.

Groups: specific study and description of any groups, other than the club in which the client is a regular or occasional participant. His success or failure in them and the effect upon him.

Vocation: his occupational connection, *i.e.*, type of organization, its importance, his job in the organization, his fitness for it, his attitude of liking or dislike for the work, his prospects, as revealed by the judgment of himself and those in authority over him.

Education: school, special type, grade, success in work, attitude of teachers and his response, plans for further education.

Sex Adjustment: friendship and social success with members of other sex, diffidence or antagonism to other sex, type of sex attitude, *e.g.*, curiosity, indifference, unsatisfied cravings and compulsions,

lewd interests; source of information and availability of help in meeting difficulties or problems of sex adjustment; attitudes toward love, marriage, and family.

The information suggested by the outline above will give a leader a sympathetic insight into the personality of the group member. The accumulation of information of this character concerning all the members of the group will give valuable clues to problems, interests, and program possibilities. A narrative statement should be written for each member and filed. A card system may be used or a separate manila folder for each individual may be used to hold descriptive material.

It should be borne in mind that the accumulation of data concerning the individuals belonging to the group will not necessarily give an accurate picture of the group. The assumption that a group is merely the sum of its constituent elements may be a wholesome corrective to the theory that the group is dominated by a collective mind or a group spirit. But the former theory is all too simple if it overlooks as a constituent element the stimulation of each individual within a group by the other members.(6) One aspect of this inter-stimulation and response reveals itself in the acceptance of special relationships of members to other members. In coöperative effort these relationships take the form of specialized activity and coördination, and on lower levels, of dominance and submission.

If the leader cannot secure a wholly adequate picture of the group by combining the total data relating to

each person into a total account of the club, no more can he, conversely, secure an adequate understanding of the individual by even the most careful study of him in the club situation. We have said that an individual tends to act differently within different groups. We must add that each group establishes a general configuration of activity patterns. It will take considerable discernment in a leader to identify the unique quality of inter-relationships that marks off his group from all others, and to be able to estimate just what part in the molding of the personality of a member this group plays.

To achieve some measure of this discernment, the leader will need to make a study of the inter-relationships within the group. This study will go far beyond the historical and narrative description of the group which we have described. It will be concerned with the discovery of motivations and trends, and will seek to answer these questions:

Whose approvals have most influence with the group members?

With whom do program ideas originate—the leader, a dominant member, a small group, or do ideas evolve as a gradual development by the majority of the members?

Who controls the group?

Is activity so planned that every member in the group finds opportunity to contribute, by carrying out a specialized part of the enterprise?

Is the trend of the group toward greater independence, resourcefulness, coöperation, and achievement upon levels of ever-increasing maturity?

The leader's narrative should be written as soon after the meeting as possible and should utilize a check list of such considerations as we have raised concerning relationships within the group and the activity of the group.

The recorder should school himself to describe in the narrative what happened, without incorporating interpretations of the reasons therefor in the narrative account. His interpretations and additional data which he may have obtained from contacts outside the group meeting should be recorded in a specially designated addendum. We recognize that terms of description themselves may embody interpretations. The leader will be well advised to describe the action in objective terms if possible, but not to omit his interpretation, for the objective description may lead to an erroneous conclusion. For example, the writer recently witnessed a meeting of political leaders in which about twelve men were gathered about a round table. In the course of a genuine disagreement, one of the men directed another to shut up, adding a term which, according to *The Virginian*, needed to be said with a smile. To record that neither smiled would give an erroneous picture of the situation. It is necessary to point out that these men have for years been accustomed to addressing each other in profane terms, apparently in all seriousness. It would be important to add that these men have a deep affection for each other which may be based in part on their having fought side by side through many bitter campaigns. Possibly a very critical observer of objective manifestations of behavior might have caught and described a subtle expression

about the eyes, but certainly this observer did not. He could, however, express in a record a statement that because of their verbal habits this epithet expressed no bitterness of feeling.

We would point out, however, that the fact that this writer knew the significance of profanity in the group under discussion is itself the result of many observations of behavior of the group. We can agree then that completely objective description continued over a long period will reveal significant factors and relationships and that the added interpretation, where it is accurate, constitutes a summary of earlier objective observation.

The rating sheet constitutes a type of record neither narrative nor strictly objective. It provides a schedule for information desired and calls for quantitative estimates, in terms of more or less, of attitudes and behavior changes. Its value lies in the fact that its use gives an accumulation of data on specifically designated items, rather than upon items which may appear significant to a narrator. More than one observer may use the rating chart in evaluating a group, thus checking the bias of any one individual. It may be used unostentatiously in the club room while the club is in session, since its use usually calls for little or no writing, but rather the placing of a check mark at an appropriate point on a scale.

Rating scales may be used to estimate such items as the degree of group control *versus* leader control, the amount of group participation in an activity, the degree of efficiency of an individual or of a group, the degree of effectiveness of a rule, a policy, or an action, the de-

gree of cultural homogeneity of a group, the amount of coöperation within a group, the amount of interest in an activity, or attitudes toward other people and groups. Rating scales are also of value in estimating the adequacy of institutional equipment in its relation to the effective functioning of the group.

It would not be an undue burden upon the leader for a period of several weeks to keep a rating chart in addition to a narrative record. The rating chart, since it is not of the objective and accurate nature of the frequency tally, may be filled out after the club meeting. Its use should help one who is studying a club to estimate trends.

As concrete illustrations of how items may be recorded on a rating scale, we should suggest the following: A check may be placed on a line to mark the point estimated by the recorder to indicate the degree of group control, which may range from complete dominance by the leader to complete group independence and control; a scale may be marked to represent the source of origin of program items in a given club session, ranging from one hundred per cent origination by the leader to one hundred per cent origination by the club; a check mark on a scale may indicate the degree of coöperation of the members, the scale ranging from complete disorganization to complete harmony and coöperation.

The utilization of data concerning the individual member presents the problem of the extent to which a group worker should attempt to do case work. Our suggestion would be that in dealing with people who present recognizable behavior problems or whose social

situations are badly complicated, the group worker act under the direction of an expert in the special field in which the problem arises and if possible in consultation with an experienced case worker. It is appropriate at this point to add that a great deal of the data concerning individual members of a group may, in some instances, be secured from case workers.

Even in dealing with normal people the group worker should adopt the practice of seeking guidance from experts in various fields of social endeavor so that the aid he gives his client represents the best experience he can command. As a basic element in training the group worker should study the principles and methods of case work, not with the idea of becoming an expert in case work, but with a view to understanding the type of service it offers and utilizing its analytical and constructive methods.(7) A group worker so equipped will see the necessity for referring certain problems to the case worker and will know how to proceed in such a situation.(8)

Thus far we have discussed group records chiefly in relation to the leader's reports of club-room sessions. We have, however, suggested that records should be kept by the club members. Club minutes and reports of committee chairmen have value. But both the leader and the members should be encouraged to write occasional narrative reports of basket-ball games and other competitive events, of hikes, trips, parties, dances, and other activities not traditionally the subject of reporting.

Such activities reveal more information concerning individual and group adjustment than sessions devoted

to talk. If after the leader and certain members have accumulated such activity reports they will take the time to read them, comparing the various interpretations put by different reporters upon certain happenings, the redirection of program and organization procedure can be more intelligently planned.

This coöperation of leader and group in record-keeping brings more definitely educational results than the keeping of the statistical type of record used for report purposes, in that the former develops in the participants in club activity the critical faculty of evaluating experience. Only as one learns to analyze experiences does he achieve the highest value of education.

In closing, we desire to mention a type of record which we used for four years with some effectiveness in a group-work agency. In addition to the basic data on all of the clubs in the agency, we developed a file containing information on every boy and young man in the membership. We made for each member a manila folder accommodating the 8½ by 11 inches correspondence sheet.

On the face sheet we listed such information as name, address, date of birth, occupation or grade in school, intelligence quotient, religion, name of father, mother and siblings, name of club of which he was a member and date of joining. Each member underwent a complete physical examination, the results of which were listed upon a special form. This form was included in the member's folder. Every member of the staff who had occasion to make a special contact with the member was directed to write a report of the situation and file it in the folder. Into the folder also went a

report on a home visit (a visit to the home of each member being part of the routine of the staff); also any special information acquired as a result of a conference with a teacher or employer. Most of the members belonged to clubs in which batteries of tests of intelligence and aptitude had been given. These data were recorded. Every member participated in a pentathlon athletic contest, and his achievement was recorded. Membership and participation in special activity groups such as orchestra or chemistry club were described. Any special honors or difficulties in school or occupation were described. Finally, the estimates of club leaders, specialty group leaders, and physical director were filed.

Each member of the staff had the responsibility for reading through all the records of all the members every six months. Actually, each record was reviewed at least once in each four months. A short list of names of members was selected for discussion by the staff at each staff meeting. The folders of these members constituted required reading before the meeting. The lists were made up in advance by checking against a master list of members' names; those members being selected for study and conference who were apparently in need of help, or who were apparently nonentities. In each conference, recommendations concerning the member were developed and one staff member was assigned to follow up the recommendations and to consult with the club leader.

At the beginning of each club season each club leader was required to read all the records bearing upon his club and also all of the folder material concerning the

members of his group. It is our belief that only by some such method of studying the individual member which results in the shaping of group programs to meet his needs, and the supplementing of guided group activity by individual service, can group work fully achieve the end of enriching personality.(9)

SUMMARY

The keeping of adequate group records serves the following purposes: agency registration and reporting; information for new leaders; stimulation of critical evaluation of club progress by the leader and the group; self-criticism by the leader; insights into problems of individuals; accumulation of data on group procedures for subsequent scientific analysis; recording of data in specific social experiments.

Group-work procedures advance by means of practical experience, philosophies, research, and experimentation. Record-keeping is essential to research, and should be carried on despite difficulties, such as the added burden it presents, the record-keeper's involvement as a participant observer, and the complexity of factors involved in a group experience.

The form of the record depends upon its primary purpose. Generally the report will stress frequency tallies of behavior, objective description, and measurement. The administrative report will largely utilize evaluative narrative. Probably few group-work agencies can emphasize scientific experimentation.

Most agencies will profit by utilizing a record form calling for a group roster and face sheet information which gives basic data on the club name, purpose, date of founding, officers, dues, meeting time and place, *etc.* Most

agencies will need information concerning the individual member and his relations within and outside of the groups and the community, the trend of activity, and the leader, his preparation, attitudes, plans, and effectiveness. Club secretaries' reports and club papers yield valuable record material. However, record material which emphasizes group aspects and fails to yield intimate and detailed information concerning each member fails to provide an adequate insight which can be utilized for helping the individual achieve sound social adjustment. An adequate record should yield information about the individual's home, family, neighborhood, groups, vocation, education, sex adjustment, and social adjustment.

Information concerning all the group members as individuals will not reveal the true character of the group, nor will intimate descriptions of group life cast full light upon each individual.

Group narratives should be written soon after the meeting and the leader should attempt to separate objective description from his subjective interpretation of events. His interpretation is valuable but should be recognized as interpretation.

Objectivity is difficult to attain in a narrative account, is more readily attained by use of rating scales, and is most readily attained by use of frequency tallies. Rating scales are valuable supplements to narrative accounts for occasional use.

It is well to emphasize that not only club meetings but all types of group activity should be made the subject of record and that leader and group should participate in recording and evaluating experience.

Finally, records exist for use. Staff meetings may be made vital by wise use of record material; and group workers should be schooled to review and reevaluate the

experiences of individuals and groups for the purpose of shaping group programs to serve the needs of individuals and to enrich their personalities.

CHAPTER X

GROUP RECORDS: THEIR FORMS AND USES

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